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MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

CHILD CARE: *A Quichua Indian girl tends her baby brother in the rain-forest village of Capirona, Ecuador, where an unusual ecotourism project lets visitors share jungle life.*

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

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A highland Indian in Ecuador fights for land; in the jungle, villagers protect the rain forest.

Indians in Ecuador Struggle To Gain and Save Their Land

Like a roll of thunder, the growing strength of Indian federations in the lives of indigenous people in Ecuador often obscures a quiet, universal fact: The trench work for change is done by tireless individuals.

The Monitor's coverage of indigenous people in the International Year for Indigenous People continues today, focusing on Ecuador, one of Latin America's smaller countries, as a case study. In the final part of this three-part series, Miguel Angel, an Indian organizer in the Andean highlands of Imbabura Province, battles against the authorities to gain more farming land for his people. And a group of Quichua Indians, deep in the rain forest, builds a profitmaking ecotourism facility in their village beside the Rio Puni in an effort to share their culture while they save it.

EC Leaders Seek Plan To Boost Jobs Without Cutting Social System

Europeans differ on how to reduce unemployment, but shy away from 'high social costs' of US model

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COPENHAGEN

WITH the alarms of Western Europe's worst unemployment crisis since the Great Depression sounding around them, leaders of the European Community mustered this week to confront a central EC challenge of the decade: how to translate economic growth into significant job creation.

Meeting in the Danish capital for their semi-annual summit, European leaders on June 22 endorsed a call by EC Commission President Jacques Delors to place on employment the same kind of intense focus that led to the Community's Single Market project in 1986. The Brussels-based EC executive Commission is to deliver to the next summit in December a "white paper" of concrete proposals for correcting the EC's dismal job-creation record.

Despite the call to arms, however, opinions vary widely among European leaders about the direction such a "white paper" should take.

British Prime Minister John Major outlined his preference for substantial industry deregulation, lower social security costs, and increased labor market flexibility, while French President François Mitterrand called for a tougher stance on international trade and reinforcement of the Community's system of favoring internal market products.

Still, a general tone of alarm centered on a few unavoidable facts: 17.5 million EC residents are unemployed, and the Commission says that number will rise to 20 million, or 12 percent of the working population, in 1994. While the United States created 29 million jobs from 1970-90, Europe created 9 million.

In a communiqué issued June 22, EC leaders glossed over differences by endorsing a list of short-term economic stimulus measures, such as infrastructure projects. They stressed that the recovery plan should not entail any reduction in the "social protection of citizens."

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US Quietly Concedes Bosnia, Focuses on Limiting Conflict

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE United States has made it plain that it is largely withdrawing from the international effort to end the bitter fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Unable to convince all European allies to take active peace enforcement measures, the Clinton administration now half-heartedly endorses the idea of splitting Bosnia into loosely connected Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim provinces. US officials acknowledge that this means they have abandoned hope of maintaining an ethnically mixed Bosnian nation, and that Serbs will gain some ground seized by aggression.

The Bosnian civil war "has not been resolved in the way I would have hoped," said President Clinton at a press conference last week.

The European Community at its Copenhagen summit rejected a US-backed German effort to get the EC to approve ending the arms embargo that has disadvantaged Bosnia's Muslims. **(Summit results, Page 2.)** In the end, the EC at its Copenhagen summit focused largely on trying to get Bosnia's Muslim leadership to agree to talks on the tripartite partition plan, which was first proposed by the presidents of

See **BOSNIA** *page 4*

Big-Three Automakers Begin Talks With Union
As the nation's carmakers launch union contract negotiations, the key is better productivity.
7

China Tax Cuts Aim at Curbing Rural Unrest

NERVOUS over spreading rural unrest, the Chinese government has blocked local officials from levying an array of taxes and fees on discontented farmers.

People's Daily, the Communist Party newspaper, said June 21 that the State Council, China's Cabinet, had ordered an end to 37 taxes and fees to stem discontent among the country's 900 million farmers. The ban removes fees for "social stability," "toilet improvement," and other taxes.

The moves come amid a growing number of outbursts by cash-strapped farmers who, Chinese and Western observers say, pose the most volatile threat to Beijing's Communists.

In recent years, stagnant or falling grain prices, rising farm costs, and new demands by local Communist Party officials have fueled dissatisfaction among farmers. The breakup of communes, which launched China's economic reforms more than a decade ago, have left many farmers at the mercy of market forces and rising costs while crop prices have remained largely under government control.

Earlier this year, farmers in Sichuan, Anhui, and other provinces protested over useless IOUs issued by local cadres to buy grain, much of which is still purchased by the government. Farmers rioted when they were unable to redeem the IOUs from local officials who had used the agricultural funds for construction and to establish economic industrial zones.

Recently, farmers in Sichuan attacked officials' homes and offices to protest a new road-building tax. In drought-stricken Henan, desperate farmers battled over fertile land claimed by two counties.

Local officials use the taxes and fees to operate schools and build roads and irrigation systems. But in recent months, the farmers' cash crisis and growing corruption among local Communist leaders has eroded the party's support in the countryside and jolted Beijing leaders to take corrective steps, Chinese observers say.

"Alleviating peasants' burdens is not merely an economic matter but also a political issue," Chen Junsheng, a member of the State Council, told Beijing leaders last weekend.

– Sheila Tefft

INTERNATIONAL

EC Takes a Firm Step on Bosnia

Under pressure from Germany, leaders make verbal commitment of 'men and money'

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COPENHAGEN

JARRED by the dangerous precedent the Bosnian conflict presents for an unstable Europe, European Community (EC) leaders on June 22 shifted toward a more active engagement in the preservation of the fractured Balkan state.

Acting under the pressure of German calls for a lifting of the United Nations arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina, EC leaders committed themselves to providing "men and money" for the protection of six UN-designated Muslim "safe havens."

In what aides called a "nearly angry" presentation, French President François Mitterrand inched toward the German position. Mr. Mitterrand insisted that lifting the arms ban would be "an act of despair." But, adding that "the situation on the ground" called for a reassessment, he called on EC countries to either come forward now in an international effort to protect the havens or lift the arms embargo, end the international humanitarian effort, and let Muslims defend themselves.

Mr. Kohl's veering from the majority of his EC colleagues reflected recent German positions, but surprised EC countries by its timing and intensity. It followed an empassioned plea here earlier in the day from Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic for the EC to lift the arms ban he said resulted in genocide and the forced capitulation of an internationally recognized state. Kohl also made his case after receiving a letter from President Clinton calling the end of the arms ban the only viable option left for Bosnia.

EC countries had a choice: Protect the United Nations designated 'safe havens' in Bosnia or lift the international arms embargo to enable the Muslims to defend themselves.

A question mark still hangs over the EC commitment to joining in a safe-haven protection plan. Despite the verbal commitment, discussion among European leaders showed no new commitments of soldiers. France and Spain said their troops already involved in the Bosnian humanitarian effort could be reassigned to the new task.

Kohl's statement demonstrated a growing German willingness to stand separate from its EC partners. It follows another shocker last week, when Germany entered a bilateral trade agreement with the United States on telecommunications contracts. That accord flew in the face of the "Community preference" principles Mitterrand has been pushing as a means for the EC to pull out of economic recession. **(British view, Page 20.)**

Germany's position among its European partners remains delicate because it has insisted that both its Constitution and the history of Nazi involvement in the former Yugoslavia prevent it from taking an on-the-ground role in the Balkans. Some observers see Kohl's intervention, coming as it did after Mr. Izetbegovic's visit, as a sign of particular German sensitivities to charges of genocide in Europe.

Some EC officials in private acknowledge the legitimacy of the Bosnian leader's fears, given past experience. Saying some European leaders want first to cover EC failure in the Bosnian conflict, one senior EC official qualified as "absolute rubbish" a statement by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe that new Serb-Croat proposals for partitioning Bosnia contained the essence of an earlier EC-brokered peace plan.

In Azerbaijan, Three Say: 'I'm in Charge'

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

THE leader of an armed rebellion in Azerbaijan is saying he's in charge of the Transcaucasian nation, but some experts expect a complicated struggle to divide the country's political spoils.

Rebel units led by Suret Guseinov were poised on the outskirts of Baku June 22, ready to enter the capital if ordered.

The rebels are not encountering any resistance from government forces. Indeed, government troops are fraternizing with Mr. Guseinov's forces. "Ninety percent of our [government] troops are sympathetic to Guseinov," acting Interior Minister Rovshan Dzhavadov told parliament.

Guseinov's rebellion, which began June 4, already has created a power vacuum, forcing President Abulfaz Elchibey to flee Baku late last week. Roughly half of Azerbaijan's territory is controlled by Guseinov's forces.

"I will take all, absolute power into my hands," Guseinov said in an interview on Azeri television.

The Azeri parliament, seeking to avoid a civil war, has called on Guseinov to negotiate an end to his uprising. It also insisted that President Elchibey return to Baku. Elchibey has set up base in his native region of Nakhichevan, an Azeri enclave squeezed between Armenia and Iran.

"We will have to settle our disputes and we must now think of the land that we are losing to the Armenians," the parliamentary resolution said, referring to the five-year-old war between Azerbaijan and neighboring Armenia over the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. Disorganized Azeri forces have recently suffered humiliating defeats at the hands of Armenian troops.

There are indications Guseinov is receptive to sharing power with Baku's new political leaders, led by former Azeri Communist Party boss Geidar Aliyev, who became parliament speaker last week.

A precondition for a power-sharing agreement would be Elchibey's resignation and the establishment of a State Council that could function as a collective presidency, a rebel spokesman said.

Elchibey, meanwhile, insists he remains president. He said June 21 that he was prepared to return to Baku if Guseinov withdrew his forces from the city's outskirts, adding that a referendum on his rule could be held once order was restored.

Mr. Aliyev, who claims to be head of state in Elchibey's absence, continues working to forge a viable government. Currently, he is courting Etibar Mamedov, the leader of the influential National Independence Party and chief opponent of Elchibey's administration. An Aliyev-Mamedov alliance could give rise to a ruling oligarchy, including Guseinov and former President Ayaz Mutalibov, who was ousted in an armed uprising in 1992.

"No one wants bloodshed," says Svetlana Ganushkina, a Moscow-based expert on Azeri politics. "Aliyev and Mamedov are ready to cooperate and would be prepared to give Guseinov a post in the power ministries, such as defense, or interior minister." But Guseinov may not go along with such an arrangement, she adds. "Now that he's seized all this power ... he may come to the conclusion that he himself can wield power," she says.

Even if the three manage to avoid a confrontation, the power struggle is likely to lead to increased bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh.

"These new people are coming to power under nationalist slogans and, thus, become hostages to these same slogans," Ms. Ganushkina said. "Guseinov says he'll clear Karabakh of all Armenians, so if he comes to power he'll have to launch an offensive, meaning more victims."

SHIRLEY HORN

Bosnian Leaders Rebuff President With Decision to Negotiate Partition

Move may force Izetbegovic to break with Muslim hard-liners

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ZAGREB, CROATIA

A MAJORITY of the collective Bosnian presidency revolted June 23 against its Muslim chairman, President Alija Izetbegovic, voting to participate in talks on a Serb-Croat peace proposal for an ethnic partition of the former Yugoslav republic. The 7-2 decision threw the beleaguered Bosnian government into a crisis that left Mr. Izetbegovic's political future uncertain; the presidency majority has the power to oust him.

The revolt was led by Fikret Abdic, a Muslim member. He joined the two Croatian and three loyalist Serbian collective presidency members in voting to accept an invitation from international mediators Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg to join Serbian and Croatian leaders at talks in Geneva June 23.

Izetbegovic and Vice President Ejup Ganic, both Muslims, opposed participation and were to return to Sarajevo. In a move some observers say is meant to control the damage to the presidency's unity, the delegation will only consult with the Serbian and Croatian teams and then return to Sarajevo for further discussions.

But that provision could not mask deep divisions in the presidency – most apparent between Izetbegovic and Mr. Abdic.

"I was not elected to sign the death of my own country," Mr. Ganic said of the partition plan. "We will continue to fight. It will be a Lebanon."

Izetbegovic vehemently opposes the Serb-Croat proposal to partition Bosnia into a confederation of Muslim, Orthodox Serb, and Roman Catholic Croat "mini-states." He contends it is a cover for the division of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia and will confine Muslims, the largest ethnic group, to a tiny share of territory.

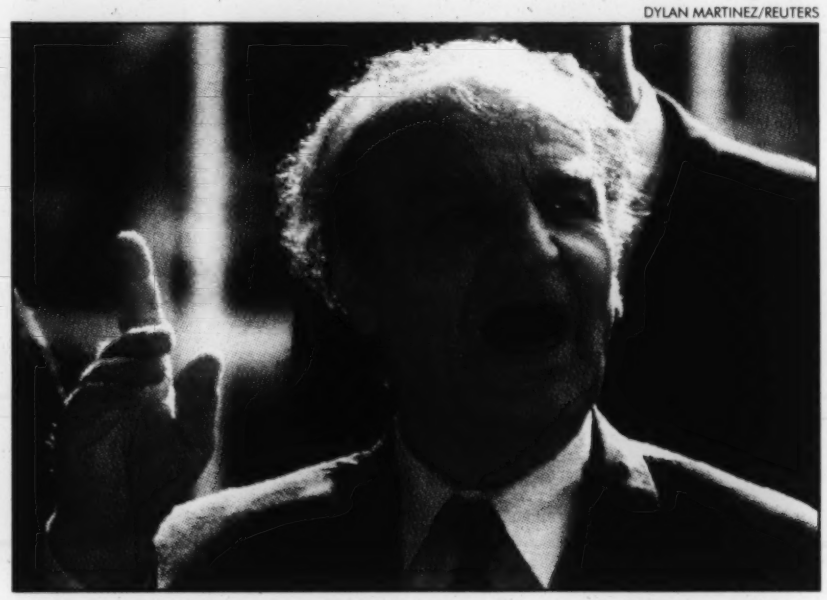
The idea was unveiled last week by Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, the main patrons of the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, to replace the scrapped international peace plan known as Vance-Owen.

That plan would have divided Bosnia into 10 semi-autonomous provinces. But the Bosnian Serbs rejected it in May and the international community failed to follow through with threats to impose it militarily. The European Community abandoned the plan June 22.

The Bosnian Serbs demand their own state, which they have declared in the 70 percent of Bosnia they control. They seek ultimately to merge with Serb areas of Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro in a "Greater Serbia."

Bosnian Croat leaders also have declared autonomy in the territories they control, strengthening charges that Zagreb and Belgrade have a secret agreement to dismember Bosnia.

DYLAN MARTINEZ/REUTERS



UNDER PRESSURE: *Other members of Bosnia's collective presidency voted to discuss Serb-Croat partition plan, as Alija Izetbegovic told EC leaders the plan was a cover for dividing Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia.*

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his Bosnian Croat counterpart, Mate Boban, reportedly agreed June 21 to award the Bosnian Muslims 30 municipalities and the region around the northwestern city of Bihac.

THAT is where Abdic enters. The chief political figure of the region, known as Cazinska Krajina, Abdic denied his break with Izetbegovic meant that the majority of the presidency would accept the Karadzic-Boban idea. But he argued Izetbegovic had no right to shut the door on talks.

"The situation on the ground dictates the tempo at which the crisis will be resolved," he said. "In principle, I will not reject any plan that will bring peace."

"The question is: Will this plan bring peace?" Abdic continued.

The dispute appears to be rooted in personal and political differences between Abdic and Izetbegovic. Since August, Abdic has been absent from Sarajevo, remaining in Cazinska Krajina, an almost purely Muslim enclave where he runs Agrocommerce, a massive state-owned agricultural wholesale conglomerate.

The firm has continued to flourish despite the war, prompting allegations that Abdic has turned it into his private concern and deals with anyone, including the Bosnian Serbs.

Abdic's critics charge he broke with Izetbegovic as part of a deal with Croatian President Tudjman to make Cazinska Krajina one of two halves of the Muslim "mini-state," thereby preserving his power and prosperity.

"He is basically very ambitious," says Gordana Knezavic, acting editor-in-chief of Oslobodjenje, Sarajevo's main newspaper. "His main concern is for his company to operate. For his company to operate, he needs peace."

Abdic vehemently denies such charges. "It's my right and my duty to say what is necessary, and I believe we should negotiate." He accuses Izetbegovic, who has used emergency war powers to rule by decree, of making unilateral decisions. Some analysts agree with Abdic. They say his main goal is to pressure Izetbegovic in order to break with Muslim hard-liners who advocate a military resolution to the crisis.

"This must be done because Izetbegovic cannot continue his politics," says Muhamet Filipovic, a member of Bosnia's first delegation to Geneva.

Jela Jevremovic, a former Sarajevo-based journalist, says Abdic does not favor the Serb-Croat partition plan, but simply wants to buy time for a reconciliation with the Bosnian Croats.

"He doesn't want to get rid of Alija," she said. "He wants to squeeze him and get him away from the [Muslim] extremists."

Rival Black Leaders Meet to Solve 10-Year Strife in South Africa

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

THE long-awaited encounter June 23 between African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has raised hopes that the two men can restore a relationship of trust. Their supporters have fought an undeclared civil war in South Africa that has killed 15,000 people over the past decade.

A renewed understanding between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi could help resolve the political violence that pervades this country, break the deadlock at multiparty negotiations critical to formulating a transition to democracy, and prepare the grounds for South Africa's first democratic ballot early next year.

The meeting takes place against the backdrop of nine years of conflict between Zulu supporters of the ANC and Zulus loyal to Buthelezi's more traditionalist Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The internecine fighting flared up again this month when 38 supporters of the two sides were killed in at least six incidents in Natal Province. The attacks followed the pattern of escalations of violence before major peace meetings.

The persistence of political fighting here, however, tempers the hopes that Mandela and Buthelezi can ease the situation quickly. "It would be unrealistic to expect any immediate impact on the levels of violence in the short-term," says a Western diplomat close to the talks.

The meeting is being chaired by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Stanley Mogoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church in southern Africa, after attempts by a joint ANC/IFP committee to broker the meeting failed.

"I think if the two leaders can publicly rededicate themselves to ending violence, agree on a joint committee to promote peace [and] a freeze on the territorial war, and reach an understanding on the IFP's demand for federalism, the meeting could be judged a success," said Mervyn Frost, a political scientist at the University of Natal in Durban.

A walkout on June 17 by an IFP delegation from the multiparty negotiating forum reflected unresolved tensions between the ANC and the IFP over the powers and functions of regions in a decentralized system of government.

While the ANC has made significant concessions to Buthelezi's insistence on a federal system, the IFP has refused to agree to the date of April 27 next year for the country's first democratic election until the constitutional principles that bind an elected constitution-making body are finalized.

MANDELA is due in the US June 26 to receive jointly the Philadelphia Freedom Award with President Frederik de Klerk on July 4 and for a joint meeting with President Clinton. Mandela is eager to arrive armed with consensus on the election date and agreement on a Transitional Executive Council, which will help rule the country before the election.

Draft legislation in the US Congress would repeal the federal government's remaining economic sanctions against South Africa and promote US investment in the country. But enaction of the bill can occur only if the election date and transitional authority are agreed upon, Western diplomats say.

Before Mandela was freed in February 1990, he and Buthelezi exchanged cordial letters in which they agreed that the first priority was to end the political feud between their followers.

But a summit between the two in January 1991 – which produced a series of peace agreements – failed to reverse levels of violence. By the time the two men met briefly at the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991, personal relations between them had deteriorated significantly.

"That relationship has just not been able to survive the hostility between their followers," says Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the independent Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, who has spoken to both leaders about their relationship with the other. "If they could re-establish that personal trust it would be a major achievement.... All sorts of things could flow from that."

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Noting that the crisis is already drawing into question Western Europe's highly developed but expensive and bureaucratic social welfare system, many leaders and officials said solutions had to be found that did not compromise the "European model" of broad social protection.

Europe's social networks

"The very essence of our society is in the social networks we've created," said one senior EC official. "We cannot forget who we are and just stimulate growth by dismantling social provisions."

Frequently cited as the example not to follow was the "American social model," with its less-developed welfare system.

"I don't see a way out of this crisis by increasing the insecurity of people," said Danish Foreign Minister Helveg Petersen, who presented his view of the high social costs the US pays in terms of poverty, delinquency, urban decay, and community health.

Comparisons with the US and Japan as competitors stemmed from the charts and statistics that Commission President Jacques Delors cited in painting the bleak picture of EC job creation.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF/FILE

JACQUES DELORS: *The European Commission president is pushing a plan to boost EC employment.*

Aside from pointing out that the US created almost four times as many jobs as the EC with about the same growth rate, Mr. Delors noted that EC non-wage labor costs are almost twice those of the US and Japan. And the EC's share of world exports fell more than 5 percent in the 1980s, while the US share grew.

Faced with such statistics, Mr. Major said, the EC's choice is to "compete or contract." While none of the leaders would dispute that, broad agreement on the employment problem may end there.

Senior British officials said Delors' presentation suggested that "we're starting to see eye-to-eye on the problem," but they added that Delors, a French Socialist, and a number of other leaders remain "reluctant to accept what we see as the inevitable solutions."

Two viewpoints

Discussions among European leaders revealed a philosophical splitting of countries into two broad groups, said French presidential spokesman Jean Musitelli. Britain, Netherlands, and Portugal emphasized deregulation and labor flexibility, while France, Spain, Italy, and Ireland favor "a more muscular approach" to international trade. But other observers noted that Spanish President Felipe González cited the need to foster greater labor market flexibility, and they cited this as evidence of "new thinking" in Europe.

Aides to Delors say his proposal for a "white paper" on employment reflected a conclusion that the root problem would not be solved with piecemeal measures or classic stimulus interventions – Commission experts estimate job growth would remain flat even at a 2.5 percent annual growth rate – but requires the impetus of a major project.

"We were struck by the evidence that the only time over the last 25 years the Community registered both significant job creation and steeply declining unemployment was during the implementation of [Europe's] Single Market," one Commission official says.

Although he steered clear of offering any concrete solutions, Delors said Europe's "economic renewal" should include a rededication to monetary union, including a single currency; more spending on infrastructure and research and development; creation of a "European information infrastructure" similar to the US proposal for an "information highway" involving fiber optics and telecommunications development; and better preparation of workers for technological change.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said that, while he did not oppose Delors' plan, he wanted quicker action. With Germany's dimmed economic aura darkening further, Mr. Kohl called on EC states to propose ideas for collective action within a month.

Yet while Delors proposed a number of short-term measures focused on stepped-up infrastructure development, officials acknowledged that public investment is limited by heavy budget deficits across Europe.

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Serbia and Croatia.

Thus ends the long odyssey of the so-called Vance-Owen plan, which had called for a complicated Bosnian map of 10 interrelated ethnic zones. The Bosnian Serbs felt Vance-Owen gave away too much they had taken by force of arms.

As critics of the West's approach point out, as long as no one was threatening the Bosnian Serbs with force if they didn't go along with Vance Owen, there was little reason for them to accept it.

The tripartite plan, on the other hand, will result in a Bosnian entity that is a state in name only. The Croat- and Serb-dominated provinces will inevitably be pulled toward their neighboring Croatian and Serbian nations.

"Partition was inevitable and we should have seen it coming," says University of Chicago international relations professor John Mearsheimer.

The bleak feeling within the US government on Bosnia was well-illustrated by an unusual meeting two weeks ago between a senior administration official and a group of defense reporters. Under the ground rules of the meeting the official cannot be identified, though it can be said that he is more in the business of providing advice than making policy.

THE senior official judged that the creation of UN safe havens for Muslim refugees in Bosnia will simply create refugee camps that breed despair. He said that the Vance-Owen plan had no chance to work even if implemented.

Even the Clinton administration's so-called "lift and strike" proposal to lift the arms embargo on Muslims and conduct US airstrikes against Serbs – rejected as too harsh by Europeans – would have had little effect, according to the official.

The official said that in essence the Clinton administration had inherited a situation it could do little about. "You are basically working at the margins of the problem," he said.

Not all officials are so pessimistic in their outlook. But it seems the point of US policy is now focusing on preventing the Bosnian chaos from spreading deeper into Eastern Europe.

Some analysts suggest that one way the West might regain credibility for its efforts to prevent conflict in the region is to reorient NATO toward east-central Europe. This could head off the most dangerous long-term scenario facing the US: that instability will spread throughout the economically pressed area of the old Soviet bloc.

Zalmay Khalilzad, a former Bush Defense Department official now at RAND, argues that the US should offer membership in NATO to Poland, Ukraine, and other nations of East Europe once they establish a stable democracy and market economy. In the meantime, NATO could conduct exercises with countries that have already made much progress, such as Poland. NATO headquarters should also preposition equipment in the region and establish a peacekeeping training and support center somewhere nearby, as peace enforcement would likely be a primary responsibility.

The prospect of joining the NATO club should even be dangled in front of Russia, says Mr. Khalilzad. "If you don't include Russia, they could perceive [NATO's expansion] as an anti-Russian move," he says.

Others argue that NATO, per se, has already shown it cannot act in problem situations now that its main reason for being – the threatening Red Army – hardly exists. They feel a more inclusive European-Atlantic organization must be constructed, perhaps on the framework of the larger Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"NATO is just not sufficient," says Dr. Daniel Nelson, a former foreign policy adviser to the House Democratic leadership and a professor at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Va.

US INCHES TOWARD NEW WARHEADS: MINI-NUKES

WASHINGTON

■ Tiny things are trendy. Fancy restaurants feature small servings. Laptop computers get more micro all the time. Cookies come bite-size. Some United States scientists are even pushing for mini-nuclear weapons.

Tiny atomic explosions? Isn't that kind of a contradiction in terms?

Not necessarily. The Department of Energy (DOE) is now funding research into precision low-yield nuclear warheads. These so-called mini-nukes would primarily be intended to threaten the bunkers and weapons of nuclear-armed third-world nations.

This new generation of small nuclear weapons would emit much less radiation, theoretically causing much less collateral damage to civilian targets.

Work is being carried out under Project PLYWD (Precision Low-Yield Weapons Design), begun at Air Force urging in 1991. For fiscal year 1994, the DOE budget request includes funds to wrap up PLYWD's first phase, largely a mission analysis and feasibility study. The request also asks for money to enter Phase 2.

Scientists at Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore National Labs are doing most of the mini-nuke research.

The micro-warheads are intended to be mounted on the tips of precision earth-penetration weapons. Some PLYWD proponents go so far as to say that with a few technical advances a mini-nuke strike might emit no radiation above ground at all, making it little different from conventional-weapon strikes.

Politically there would be an enormous difference. And one source with access to PLYWD detail says its radiation emission, and hence its collateral damage, would vary greatly with the geology of its target.

Lab officials characterize mini-nuke research as nothing but a paper study to this point. There is widespread skepticism within the government about whether the idea will ever progress beyond that stage.

But one critic of the effort argues that that's not the point. The mere fact that the US is looking at mini-nukes sets a bad precedent, especially when Ukraine is considering whether to retain nuclear weapons and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is coming up for renewal.

"We have to lead by example," says William Arkin, a Greenpeace researcher who has an article on mini-nukes in an upcoming issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

– Peter Grier

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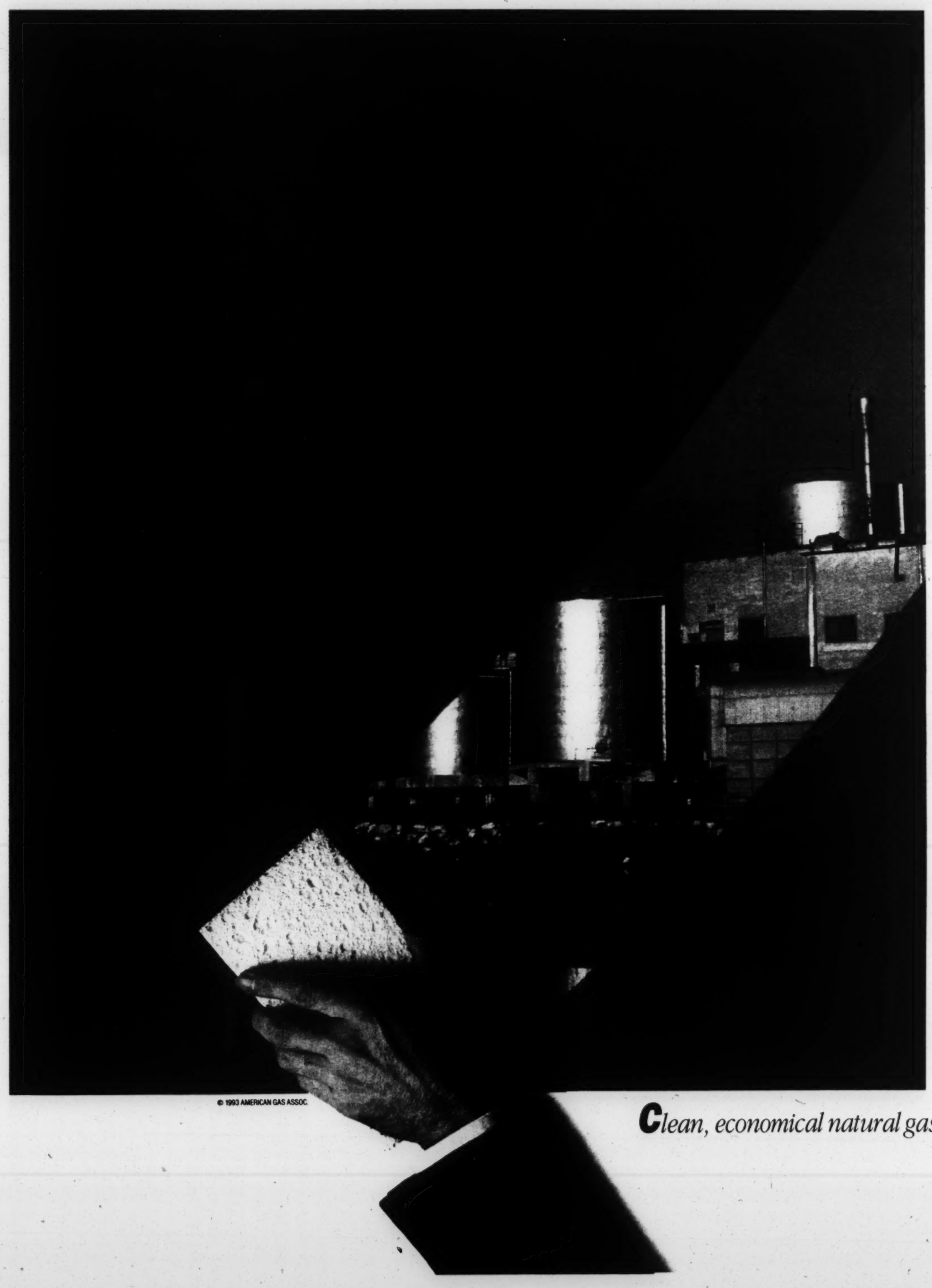
Don't you wish we could just do this to acid rain.



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Democrats, Republicans Aim for the Grass Roots

WASHINGTON WATCH

FIVE months after the Democrats took over the White House, the party is working to get back on the beam to sell its programs to the American people – and to get ready for the 1994 elections.

David Wilhelm, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, told a Monitor breakfast June 22: "There's always a legislative process that takes place, but the key goes back to doing everything we can such that the American people understand what the president's initiatives are all about.

"I have absolute confidence that if the American people understood the elements of the [budget] plan, that they would back it, they would view it as fair, they would see it as deficit reduction, and they would put the pressure on their congresspeople to pass this thing, and ultimately congresspeople will respond."

The White House launched a public relations offensive June 21 on its deficit-reduction package, with President Clinton doing six interviews with radio talk-show hosts around the country and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen making the case to reporters at the White House. Administration officials presented documents they say show that the president's package cuts spending as much as it raises taxes.

"Because people view this party as the vehicle for change," says Mr. Wilhelm, "I fundamentally believe that six to nine months from now, if we can make the case that these things have in fact occurred, we will have a very strong message to take into 1994 – if we have broken gridlock, if we have moved this country along, if we have delivered deficit reduction."

Wilhelm says party fund-raising is ahead of target for the '94 elections, and he's not worried about the Democratic Party's ability to compete, even against multimillionaire Congressman Michael Huffington (R) of California, who may run against Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein.

■ *Linda Feldmann reports from Washington.*

GOP policy council to hear grass-roots views

The Republican Party has started to fight the battle of ideas that its leaders believe will be crucial to winning back the White House in 1996.

At the forefront of the GOP strategy is the National Policy Forum (NPF), a new group that sounds like a cross between a think tank and Ross Perot's grass-roots organization. It will join a growing number of other Republican organizations, most notably Jack Kemp's Empower America, that have sprouted up since the last election.

"It is not enough today for us just to oppose Clinton," GOP chairman Haley Barbour said at a press conference June 21 announcing the formation of the NPF. "We want a party that is centered on ideas and gives people something to be in favor of, something to vote for."

The NPF will tackle that job with $100,000 in seed money from the Republican National Committee and a budget of $4 million for the next year. Veteran GOP operative Michael Baroody will direct the group, supervising 12 to 20 "policy councils" made up of Republican apparatchiks, elected officials, academics, business leaders, and others. Each policy council will focus on a particular area, such as trade or health care.

The NPF's first activity will be to distribute an "in-depth policy questionnaire" to more than 600,000 Republicans next month. Then in the fall, the policy councils will hold hearings around the country to find out what Republicans think about major issues. The results will be compiled in a booklet called, "Listening to America."

Research that comes out of the process may also be published in "Common Sense," a revival of the successful journal of ideas that the GOP published in the late 1970s.

Mr. Barbour stresses that the NPF is not intended to hash out the 1996 party platform. It's meant to provide a forum where grass-roots activists can have a "voice in the national debate," he says. To help draw in independents and Democrats, the NPF will not be affiliated with the Republican Party. It will be a quasi-independent organization that will try to appeal to Mr. Perot's supporters. "I think setting it up separate from the party does make it very clear that everyone's welcome," Barbour says.

■ *Max Boot reports from Washington.*

NATIONAL

DAVID M. SANTOS – US COAST GUARD/FILE

INTERCEPTING HAITIAN REFUGEES: *The crew of the Coast Guard ship Dauntless brings refugees aboard a small boat. The US Supreme Court ruled that both the interception and the repatriation of these persons is legal.*

Haitian Refugee Decision Will Limit Asylum Seekers

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

FOURTEEN Haitian refugees arrived in Miami on June 21, the last of a group freed from a United States holding compound in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, by a federal court order. But on the same day, the US Supreme Court appeared to slam the door on other potential Haitian boat people.

The high court ruled 8 to 1 that the Coast Guard can continue intercepting Haitian refugees without offering them a chance to seek asylum in the US. President Bush instituted that policy in response to the massive number of migrants after the ouster of elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991.

Bill Clinton criticized the Bush policy as "cruel" during last year's campaign, but once in office, he ordered the Coast Guard to continue repatriation. To do otherwise, he argues, would encourage more Haitians to risk their lives by setting out for the US on leaky rafts.

Several groups representing refugees challenged the policy in court, arguing that it violates the US Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. This law states that aliens cannot be deported if their "life or freedom would be threatened ... on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion."

Many of the boat people say they have been persecuted by Haiti's military regime because they are supporters of President Aristide. The Haitian government has been condemned for human-rights violations by the State Department and the United Nations.

The Second US Circuit Court of Appeals in New York ruled against the interception policy. Justice Harry Blackmun, the most liberal member of the Supreme Court, backed that verdict. "The terms [of the law] are unambiguous," he wrote. "Vulnerable refugees shall not be returned."

But writing for the majority, Justice John Paul Stevens declared that US immigration law does not apply to people outside US borders. Justice Stevens said the ruling was not an endorsement of US actions, only a determination that they are not illegal.

Advocates on behalf of the Haitians were quick to argue that the US policy may be legal, but it is still immoral. "It's sad to see the Statue of Liberty get a sock in the eye," says Rep. Charles Rangel (D) of New York.

Steve Forester, an attorney with the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, adds that many of those returned to Haiti "undoubtedly come into harm's way" from the military regime.

On the other side of the issue, the Bush and Clinton administrations have said the US does not have the resources to process a flood of asylum requests. In the 10 years before the 1991 military coup, 25,000 Haitian migrants were intercepted. That number soared to about 38,000 people the first eight months after the coup.

That inflow overwhelmed the US processing facility at Guantánamo Bay and led the Bush administration to start returning almost all boat people to Haiti. A handful of Haitian asylum-seekers diagnosed as having the HIV virus remained at Guantánamo for two years until a federal district court ruled June 8 that the compound had to be shut down.

The policy of returning Haitians has been effective. Almost no boat people have been intercepted by the Coast Guard since it went into effect in May 1992.

But the repatriations have been politically embarrassing for Clinton, who has taken heat for not carrying out a campaign pledge to reverse the Bush policy.

The Clinton administration has appeared eager to end the problem by forcing the military regime out of power. The US recently froze the assets of some regime supporters and backed a move in the UN Security Council to impose a worldwide embargo of oil, weapons, and most other goods on Haiti. The sanctions are to take effect June 23, if progress is not made in the negotiations with UN and US representatives.

Bay State Gears Up To Ensure Equity In School Funding

By Elizabeth Ross
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

ALONG with a handful of other states, Massachusetts is faced with reforming the way it funds public education.

The mandate was given to lawmakers and the governor last week by the Supreme Judicial Court (SJC). It ruled that the state has failed to meet its constitutional duty to provide an adequate education to all public-school students based on its property-tax-financed system.

In writing the court decision, Chief Justice Paul Liacos states: "What emerges ... is that the commonwealth has a duty to provide an education for *all* its students, rich and poor, in every city and town of the commonwealth at the public-school level."

In recent years, public-school finance has become a hot issue, as communities take legal action against states for school funding. Systems in Texas, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Montana have been ruled unconstitutional. And in April, a lower-court Alabama judge ruled that the state's public-education system was "inequitable and inadequate," says Mary Fulton, policy analyst for the Education Commission of the States. Today, 25 states are engaged in school-finance lawsuits, she says.

Plaintiffs say in property-poor communities, students are denied educational resources. But those in property-rich towns enjoy special programs, computers, and textbooks. Many schools are mainly funded by local property taxes, though they also receive state and federal money.

In Massachusetts, attorney Michael Weisman, who represented plaintiffs from 16 communities in the Bay State case, called the decision an "enormous victory" for public-school students. "What the Supreme Judicial Court said ... is that a fundamental premise of a free and democratic society is an educated populace. Therefore, education is not just good policy, it is essential in a free society," he says.

Though no timetable was set, the state court ruled that the legislature and governor must devise a plan to make education more equitable. A state supreme court justice will oversee it.

The decision comes at an opportune time. On June 18, Gov. William Weld (R) signed an education-reform bill that many hope will address concerns cited by the court. With $175 million more in state education allocated for the upcoming year, the law raises spending to a "foundation level" of $5,550 per student by 2000.

It also: develops standards and tests to measure student performance; replaces teacher tenure with an arbitration system; places more responsibility on principals and superintendents for school performance; creates 25 "charter schools" that receive public funds but are run by teachers, parents, or universities; and creates a limited school-choice program, among other things.

But Mr. Weld said the law, which earmarks $1.7 billion in state education funding in seven years, marks the beginning of reform.

"Putting more money into schools does not guarantee a solid education," he said at a press conference. "Parental involvement, innovative schools, and inspiring teachers. These are the dominant factors in what children learn in classrooms."

WELD says the bill does not offer a strong enough school-choice program and that "school districts themselves are not compelled to compete and ... to improve."

Also, he said the new system to replace tenure may make it more difficult to remove underperforming teachers. The governor will introduce legislation soon to address his concerns.

Critics wonder where funding for the new law will come from in a state whose fiscally conservative governor promised to steer clear of new taxes. And while many educators applaud the law, some question whether it will meet the demands of the SJC ruling soon enough.

"The court may look at it and say, 'We need to have you do that sooner. We don't think that's enough,' " says state Commissioner of Education Robert Antonucci.

According to Ms. Fulton, states mandated to change public-finance systems do not always factor in quality and equity. Massachusetts' law, she says, includes reforms to produce both. "This presents Massachusetts with a unique opportunity that some of the states haven't dealt with."

Automakers Start Contract Talks

Negotiations with UAW will focus on job guarantees, productivity

By Paul Eisenstein
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LANSING, MICH.

IT'S 45 miles to work, but Sam Stodt doesn't mind the drive.

For the last eight years, Mr. Stodt has spent more time laid off than on the job. When he reports for work each day, he wonders if he will be getting another pink slip. But now the 47-year-old millwright says he thinks he is in line for a permanent assignment at the General Motors Corporation (GM) assembly plant here in Michigan's capital city.

On June 21, GM announced that it will transfer production of the Chevrolet Cavalier from a plant in Mexico to the Lansing line. The decision is the result of a deal with the United Autoworkers Union (UAW) that is designed to make the Michigan factory more cost competitive.

Employees will have to work harder and smarter, but it will create new work for nearly 1,000 laid-off workers.

"I've seen what happens to people when they lose their jobs: suicides, divorce," Stodt says. "In a competitive market like this, I'm willing to make some concessions. It's worth it to have a job."

Jobs. The overriding issue of last year's presidential race is likely to be the central theme this summer as the Big Three United States automakers go to the bargaining table with the UAW for their triennial contract talks.

Twenty years ago, the UAW counted 1.5 million members. Today, that figure is less than 800,000, and is still in steep decline. General Motors alone plans to cut 74,000 jobs in the next two years as it struggles to reverse recent multibillion-dollar losses.

Fittingly, this year's round of contract talks begin at GM June 23. The UAW wants the automaker to scale back the cutbacks. But GM President John Smith warns that there are only two ways to save jobs: an upturn in new-car sales and a more productive work force.

"If we get productive, hopefully we'll sell more cars, and then we'll need more workers," he says.

The agreement in Lansing is a positive sign. It suggests that union and management are working hard to overcome decades of mistrust. Since Mr. Smith was named to lead GM last year, "we have had more talk, more mutual agreements, more working together than we have had in our history," says UAW Vice President Stephen Yokich.

GM is actually playing catch-up. The Ford Motor Company helped usher in this new era of cooperation back in the early 1980s. The payoff is that Ford now operates some of the world's most efficient auto-assembly lines. The Chrysler Corporation is also opening its books to the union as it tries to reshape products and processes.

"The union is much more aware of the competitive situation," says David Cole, director of the University of Michigan's automotive studies department. "They know the companies have to be earning money to ensure union jobs."

Despite the progress both sides have made, the upcoming negotiations will not be easy. "Not everything is perfect," cautions the UAW's Mr. Yokich. "There are times we will disagree."

The carmakers are balking at demands for new job guarantees. GM has had to shell out more than $3 billion since 1990 to provide a "Guaranteed Income Stream" for laid-off workers.

And collectively, the Big Three want concessions from UAW workers at their component plants. Employees assembling wiring harnesses and bumpers collect wages and benefits totaling over $42 an hour. That is triple the labor costs of nonunion suppliers, and more than 10 times the wages paid workers in Mexico.

So far, the union has ruled out a "two tier" wage structure where component workers would earn less than those on the assembly line.

The UAW is also ready to fight proposed cuts in health-care benefits, which cover virtually every penny for medical, dental, and vision care. But the cost is high. Ford spends more each year on health care than on steel. On average, the automakers spend roughly $1,000 per car for health-care benefits. That is more than double what the Japanese shell out, and it has created a serious competitive disadvantage.

The health-care debate could be sidelined, however, if bargainers decide to wait for the Clinton administration program.

And if anything, suggests labor analyst Harley Shaiken, the two sides may try to find expedient ways to sidestep any issue they cannot resolve.

"My sense is that everybody will try to avoid a strike at this time," says Mr. Shaiken, a professor at the University of California at San Diego. Both labor and management, he says, realize that in today's competitive market, a strike only benefits the competition.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

LANSING LINE: *As part of a deal with its unions, General Motors has agreed to bring production of the Chevrolet Cavalier back from Mexico to its Lansing, Mich., facility. Here workers build Oldsmobiles.*

ECONOMY

Bolivian Public Mines Struggle for Survival

Public mining sector seeks foreign capital to modernize plants and increase output, but unions, fearing instability, strongly protest

By Alexandra Marks
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

A STEADY stream of ore crashes onto a conveyor belt, punctuating the hum of compressors that echoes across Bolivia's stark Altiplano plateau from the Huanuni Mine. Perched on a barren hillside, Huanuni is the world's largest hard rock tin mine. It is also the only profitable mine in Bolivia's once-powerful public mining sector that is now teetering on collapse.

Fifty years of underinvestment and inefficient management have left most of the 800 properties of the Mining Corporation of Bolivia (COMIBOL) inactive or unprofitable with losses that could surpass $10 million this year. Violent union opposition, political interference, and plummeting world mineral prices have thwarted restructuring proposals. Nonetheless, COMIBOL's directors say they are determined to salvage the company that was built from private mines nationalized during the 1952 Revolution.

"COMIBOL was forced to produce foreign income, but nobody cared to invest in new equipment or look for new reserves which resulted in the decapitalization and heavy losses," says Armando Guzman Bustamante, COMIBOL's executive director since January.

Working with the World Bank, COMIBOL has developed an ambitious scheme to modernize its mines, upgrade the quality of its ore output, and turn its mining operations over to private investors through a series of joint ventures. (The Bolivian Constitution forbids the selling of state-owned mineral properties.) The goal is to attract needed foreign capital to modernize and hike output.

In 1986, COMIBOL produced 70 percent of Bolivia's mineral exports. Today, that has dropped to 30 percent. Yet mining still accounts for almost 50 percent of Bolivia's foreign exchange, making it the most important economic sector in South America's poorest and most underdeveloped country. "Even though we have problems with prices and markets and instability, we are still heavily dependent on mining," Mr. Guzman says.

Mining accounts for almost 50 percent of Bolivia's foreign exchange, making it the country's most important economic sector.

Despite drops in world mineral prices brought about by the recession in the industrialized world, Bolivia's private mining sector continues to grow, in part because of a new mining code that streamlines regulations and clarifies tax laws.

Overall investment in Bolivian mining jumped from $53 million in 1989 to $96 million in 1991. In 1992, its estimated investment surpassed $200 million due to the development of Inti Raymi – an open pit gold/silver mine. A United States company owns 85 percent of the mine, and Bolivia owns 15 percent. Inti Raymi invested $163 million in an expansion program that is expected to triple Bolivia's gold output in 1993. "The big opportunities are outside COMIBOL, not inside COMIBOL," says Charles "Scottie" Bruce of MINTEC, a private mining consulting company.

But COMIBOL remains Bolivia's primary showcase in the mining sector. Analysts say its success in transforming itself from a bankrupt, bureaucratic state enterprise, to a flexible, profitable holding company is important to the country's overall transformation to a market economy. "If foreign investors don't feel comfortable in the mining sector, they won't feel comfortable in the other sectors of the economy either," Guzman says.

COMIBOL's financial problems have been compounded by stiff opposition from the miners' union, which has vowed to fight any foreign investment in Bolivia's public mining sector. "We can't support any kind of privatization because it doesn't guarantee labor stability," says Thomas Quirez, a director of the Bolivian Federation of Miners in La Paz, and the country's largest mining union. It has launched a series of strikes and legal challenges to COMIBOL's latest reform efforts.

The Bolivian Supreme Court is expected to rule shortly on a challenge that has temporarily stalled COMIBOL's joint venture prospects: The unions charge that two contracts with foreign companies were signed before a presidential decree permitting such ventures was legislated into law. Some analysts contend that a ruling against COMIBOL could scuttle the restructuring, while others see it as just another bump in COMIBOL's precarious road ahead.

"It's really a very foolish thing for the unions to do because they're only hurting their own people," says Mr. Bruce, whose consulting company has an interest in one of the contested joint ventures. He contends that several of COMIBOL's now-inactive mines could be reactivated, putting hundreds of people back to work.

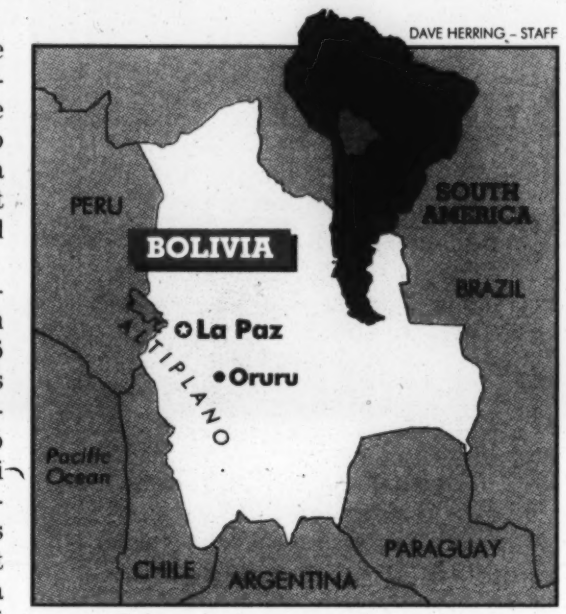
COMIBOL's Guzman also is eager for a decision to clear the way to sign the 20 joint venture and exploration contracts under discussion. With a favorable ruling, Guzman says, COMIBOL can begin rebuilding. COMIBOL has an estimated 2,000 ore deposits that can be exploited. With an unfavorable ruling, Guzman contends that COMIBOL may have to close all of its remaining mine operations, with the exception of its profitable Huanuni mine.

Both Guzman and Bruce say the union leaders do not understand either the gravity of COMIBOL's economic crisis or the safeguards for workers built into joint ventures. Bolivian law requires private mine operators to provide housing, education, and health services. But Mr. Quirez of the miners' union responds that private investors did nothing to bring development or improved working conditions to Bolivia before the 1952 Revolution and will not now.

Other mining analysts contend that union leaders are fighting the joint ventures only to preserve their own power and privileges, which would be diminished in a restructured public mining sector. "They've got a pretty nice per diem and a house in La Paz they don't want to lose," one observer says. "Meanwhile, their workers are idle and hungry."

Many miners admit that working conditions at Bolivia's private mines are far superior than those at COMIBOL, where many health and education programs have been suspended. And the unions continue to wield political power. After a series of violent strikes three months ago, the Bolivian government agreed to continue to pay laid-off COMIBOL workers a minimum salary. Now hundreds of idle workers are owed two- and three-months' back pay.

Analysts say such political involvement frustrates COMIBOL's efforts to modernize and attract foreign investment. They say the challenge for Bolivia's new government, which takes office in August, will be to support COMIBOL's restructuring efforts and allow it to operate as an independent business.



Laid-Off Miners Find Precarious Existence in Cooperatives

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

CROUCHED over a wooden trough on the side of a stark hill near Oruru, Bolivia, Walter Cruz rhythmically shovels mud against a stream of running water. In this classic, turn-of-the-century fashion, he pans for gold, working to separate the heavy precious metal from the quartz, bronze, and sand. "If we're lucky, we recover 20 percent of the gold this way," Mr. Cruz says. "With the right equipment, we could get as much as 60 percent."

Cruz, like an estimated 45,000 other Bolivians, is a cooperative miner trying to eke out a living. Often with nothing more than picks, shovels, and a knowledge of mining, the workers produce an estimated 2 to 7 tons of gold each year.

"They're not getting rich, but they're eating ... and they get zero help from the government," says Charles "Scottie" Bruce of MINTEC, a private consulting firm that works with five cooperatives in an attempt to attract foreign investors.

Cooperatives have a long history in Bolivia, but in 1986 their numbers swelled. That year COMIBOL, Bolivia's state mining company, laid off 28,000 workers when the bottom fell out of the tin market. With no other job opportunities or skills, thousands of miners organized into small cooperatives. Some staked claims at abandoned mines, others struck deals with COMIBOL to work its inactive mines. An estimated 320 cooperatives now operate in Bolivia, 40 percent of them mining gold.

THE average wage for a cooperative miner is $1,200 a year, according to Bolivia's National Institute of Cooperatives. Working conditions are primitive and dangerous. When the miners are not kneeling in damp mud, they are digging in the mountains' deep veins, which usually have been blasted open with homemade dynamite. Last December, a mudslide engulfed the Llipi gold camp in the Andes Mountains, burying an estimated 300 people. For most cooperative miners, it is a precarious existence. But Cruz and his 22 partners could prove to be the exceptions.

They work the Iroco mine outside of Oruru in Bolivia's Altiplano. They were given the mine four years ago in lieu of back pay after being laid off by Inti Raymi, a private mining company. For three years, the group worked the mine manually until they struck a particularly rich vien and MINTEC became interested. MINTEC invested $400,000 with another company, Austrobol. Initial drilling has indicated the mine is potentially worth as much as $140 million.

Drilling tests will continue and more equipment is necessary to put the mine into full operation. Another company, Caneco, has agreed to invest $500,000. For Cruz and his partners, it has an air of unreality. "Right now, we're still only making enough to fill our stomachs," he said. "We'll wait and see what happens."

– A. M.

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

Final part of a 3-part weekly series. On page 10, Indian villagers run an unusual ecotourism project that helps save their rain-forest culture by sharing it with visitors.

ACTIVIST: *Miguel Angel, an Andes highland Indian and president of a group called FICI, stands beside his organization's office in Otavalo, Ecuador.*

Indian Leader's Goal Is Land

Restlessly on the move in his effort to organize communities, Miguel Angel is dedicated to improving life for his people

Stories by David Holmstrom
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Photos by Melanie Stetson Freeman
Staff photographer of The Christian Science Monitor

OTAVALO, ECUADOR

THE dark-haired boy rises from his desk in the schoolroom and comes to the doorway. His smile is shy, almost confused. Standing there is his father, Miguel Angel, a Quichua Indian with a long braid down his back.

Weeks have passed since son and father have seen each other. Miguel touches the boy on the shoulder. The boy looks up in awe, or shy strangeness, as if his father is just this – a man in a doorway. This awkward meeting outside a school room in Imbabura province, Ecuador, lasts two minutes. The father is quickly gone. The desperate needs of his people keep him from his family.

As the elected president of an Indian organization known as FICI (Indigenous and Compesino Federation of Imbabura), with a hand-lettered sign on a side-street office here, Mr. Angel's passion is to acquire more land for his people.

Partly for safety, he seldom spends the night in the same place twice as he moves through the villages of the Andean highlands in a province 100 miles north of Quito, Ecuador's capital.

Although he is in his early 30s, Angel's tenacity and personal political beliefs echo an older, leftist Ecuador in which socialist and communist unions were the main opposition to government policies. In that Ecuador, before attention shifted to the newer issues of oil exploration and colonization in the rain forests, 2 percent of landowners of highland haciendas controlled 66 percent of the arable land. Angel knows that the figures have not changed. Today, 90 percent of small farmers own less than 10 hectares each, often on the steepest slopes.

In his efforts to change the imbalance, Angel has been harassed, threatened, held captive, and spied upon by the military and the police. For the past 10 years, he has been a community organizer.

FATHER AND SON: *Always on the move, Angel rarely sees his family. A surprise visit to Punguhuacu means a hand on the shoulder of his younger son.*

Once he was taken to a big hole in the earth by soldiers and told he was going to be buried alive. "But the whole community surrounded the [military] truck," he says. The hole stayed empty.

The Indians in the highlands have lived in poverty for centuries. Angel wears shoes borrowed from his brother and owns virtually nothing but his clothes. President of FICI is not a paid position. His strength, intelligence, and persistence command the respect and care of the people he serves. Support flows both ways.

Because of Ecuador's Agrarian Reform Law of 1973, indigenous communities can form associations and file a claim with the government to obtain land that could be used for farming.

But the Agricultural Development Law of 1979, which fa-

See **ANGEL** *page 12*

■ **PART 1**
The world's native peoples: who they are and what they want.

■ **PART 2**
Ecuador Indians make a stand against oil interests to protect rights and lands.

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

Encounter With A Rain-Forest Indian Culture

To earn needed cash income, a small village in Ecuador lets ecotourists share jungle life

CAPIRONA, ECUADOR

UNDER a full rain-forest moon as big and bright as a light bulb, the thatched roofs of Capirona are coated in white silver. Running by the little village, the swift but shallow rapids of the Rio Puni are the only sounds in this warm jungle night.

Sacha mama hermosa. Beautiful mother jungle.

About three years ago, an oil company, helicopters, and chain saws were headed this way. Unlike most other scattered inhabitants who form communities in the jungles of Ecuador's Amazon basin, the Quichua Indians here resisted. The result is new life for Capirona, an enterprising village that took the initiative to create an opportunity for an ecotourist encounter with a rain-forest culture.

In essence, the Quichuas are sharing their culture in order to save it. Their effort is one of the few tourism projects initiated and operated by Indians in the Ecuadorean rain forest.

"The only thing we have is the rain forest to leave our children," says Tarquino Tapuy, a Capirona community leader. "It is our life and culture."

Over the past 20 years, oil, lumber, and gold exploitation of the Ecuadorean rain forests has led to widespread pollution and destruction. Tens of thousands of rain-forest acres continue to be deforested each year. Cattle pastures on cleared forest lands have expanded by nearly 30 percent in the past decade.

DAVE HERRING – STAFF

Pacified by gifts and promises, few Indian communities resisted the initial incursions into their territories. Government encouragement of the exploitation, and of new settlers, slowly awakened Indian tribes to action.

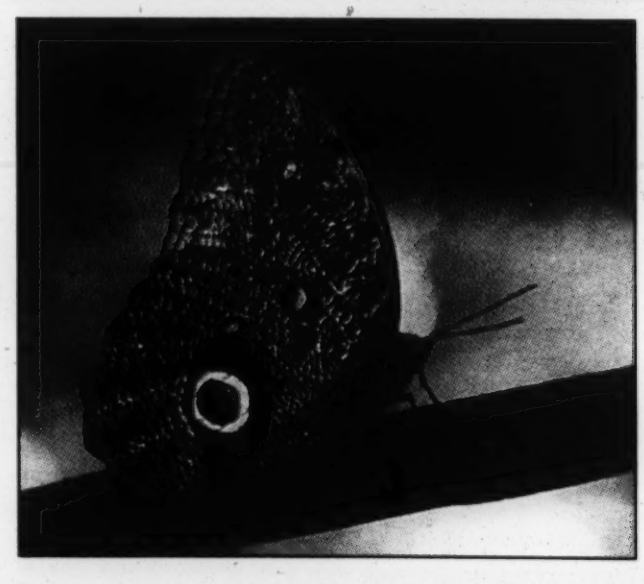
Today, the cry is for a moratorium on oil exploration and for alternative uses of the rain forest.

"Sustainable development is what we want," says Valerio Grefa, president of COICA (Coordinating Body of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin).

TOUR GUIDE: *Cesario Andy Aguinda (above) shows edible nuts and plants, such as mushrooms, to jungle visitors. A*

Capirona's version of this started when the community began to realize that their strength was in their unity. When oil-company helicopters came unannounced several times to make clearings along the river to do the seismic experiments that precede drilling, the community became concerned.

"They arrived without permission," Mr. Tapuy says, "and said they would pay us. But we are like insects to them. We said we didn't want them here. They offered us a volleyball and a net."



On the third visit, a handful of soldiers jumped out of one of the helicopters and fired machine guns in the air.

"We didn't know what to do," Tapuy says, "but about 15 of the women from the community, with machetes raised, went to the soldiers and said, 'Who gave you permission?' The military backed up. Another helicopter came, and when one of the soldiers stumbled as he got out, he dropped his rifle. One of the women grabbed it and threw it in the river. All the guns pointed at the woman. She said, 'Go ahead and shoot.' But they backed away."

Even political pressure from a local legislator failed to deter the Indians. "The legislator told us we had to negotiate and ask for things," Tapuy says. "He said we had to let the oil company go through. Not here, we said. We won't give our habitat away." The oil company did

When a sought to exp near the lan members, ma sell the trees ness has bee says. "We hav and will defen

But throug nomic base o growing corn, minishing pr month proce harvest]," Ta when the 40 [the cycle], over after de culture was

Tapuy and others that a guide from bringing tour groups est. "He'd grab some munity and pay him walk them into the says. "The guide got the community was

With Tapuy's ur nity decided to crea center at Capirona,

PHOTOS BY MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN - STAFF

sitors. A vibrantly colored butterfly perches on a twig (below).

HOT SHOT: *At the village of Capirona in the Ecuadorean rain forest, ecotourist Melina Selverston, a translator and Columbia University doctoral student, learns how to use a Quichua Indian blowgun to shoot at a target.*

COMPOUND KITCHEN: *After a strenuous two-to-four-hour hike through the jungle, ecotourists seeking a first-hand experience in the rain forest stay in special huts set aside from the main village of Capirona. Here, the cook uses boiling water to clean the dishes.*

ny did not return.
en a lumber company to expand its operations he lands of community rs, many did not agree to e trees. "The conscious- as been raised," Tapuy We have one border now ll defend it."

through all this, the eco- base of the community, g corn, was providing di- ing profits. "It's a six- process from [seed to]," Tapuy says, "and he 40 or so people finish ycle], there is little left fter debts are paid. Agri- was not sustaining us." others had been aware from another town was groups into the rain for- b someone from the com- ay him a little money to o the rain forest," Tapuy de got all the money, and ty was arguing over it." y's urging, the commu- o create a small cultural irona, providing modest overnight accommodations for adventurous visitors. Besides earning money, the villagers share their knowledge of the jungle, local foods, cultural traditions, and everyday life.

"Our first year, we had two tourist groups," says Cesario Andy Aguinda, one of the Capirona guides, seated near the large meeting house, "and the community was disheartened. But now we are doing much better."

Situated on an embankment above the Rio Puni, the village is a cluster of wooden, thatched-roof, raised buildings with bamboo siding.

Tourist sleeping accommodations are dormitory style for about 20 people. Meals are cooked by village women. "We don't want to develop much more to become rich," says Cesar Vargas, the coordinator at the village. "We just want to keep our health and work together."

Much of the money earned is used to improve facilities. The guides and cooks are paid. Western-style showers and toilets are being built, but the remoteness of the site precludes any electricity. Two outboard motors were bought to help transport harvested corn in dugouts down the river.

Getting to Capirona requires a strenuous two-to-four-hour hike through the hot, humid jungle wearing a backpack and knee-high rubber boots. Along the way, the guide shares his jungle knowledge with details about the vibrantly colored butterflies, ant mounds, animal trails, big ants with big pinchers, and parasite leaves that grow on tree trunks in overlapping fashion and eventually smother the tree.

"We still plant and harvest corn," Mr. Vargas says, "but the people are not as worried as before. They know there is money here in an emergency, and they can pay it back. We also want to improve the children's school."

The Research Expeditions Program of the University of California, Berkeley, is helping the village with a management plan, as well as creating bilingual brochures and a trail guide.

During a three-to-five-day stay, visitors participate in a *minga*, a community work day. At night, they join in community dancing and share songs or dances from their culture.

"You are curious about us," Mr. Aguinda says, "and we are curious about you. People come here and get to know the rain forest through us. Yes, we are undergoing change as Indians, but we want people to know the truth about us and how we live."

– David Holmstrom

■ *To contact Capirona, write:*
Senor Tarquino Tapuy, FOIN, Calle Augusto Rueda, C.P. 271, Tena-Napo-Ecuador.

Jean Colvin, Director, U.C. Research Expeditions Program, U. of California, Berkeley, CA 94720 Tel.: 510-642-6586.

ANGEL from page 9

vors landowners, restricts agrarian reform and makes it difficult and expensive to file such claims.

For the past three years, the local military base has refused to relinquish any of several thousand acres for local native farmers to plant food.

"The Army uses some of the land for grazing horses," Angel says, pointing to a rolling hillside beyond a barbed-wire fence. "We've said that this land should be farmed for food to eat. People are fundamental here, not horses. We live in poverty while they feed their horses."

Angel and others have talked with military authorities in Quito several times. "The minister of defense said he would investigate the issue of land," Angel says, "but it has been three years. A legal challenge is very expensive."

Military intransigence stems from general hostility toward any challenge to its authority, Angel says, particularly from Indians. In political and ideological terms, he suggests, "the slaves are turning against the master."

Angel is the son and grandson of Indians who worked all their lives as virtual slaves on a hacienda.

"If there is no land for indigenous people," he says in his subdued, direct manner, "then there is really nothing else, no other way to survive."

But Angel knows there are more punishing ways to survive; Indian men and women from the highlands increasingly migrate to the cities for jobs. With few skills to offer and multiple temptations to face, many are disillusioned and defeated.

"The power of the Indian movement," Angel says, "is the power of community. What happens in capitalism or the mestizo world is that when you are 15, suddenly you are independent. Family is lost. Community is lost. Individualism doesn't work here; community does."

Angel visits a small community close to the military base. Standing in front of a windowless community center with a dirt floor, Juan José Simbaua, the president of the community, explains the problem his village of 170 families faces.

"We live in critical poverty without work and water," he says. "We've asked that the military sell us the land, and they threaten us and say the blood will run if we try to buy the land. Some of us were caught on the land [trying to survey it] and brought to the Army barracks and kept overnight. They told us not to get involved, because there will be blood. If they are going to kill us, it doesn't matter. We are not going to give up."

COMMUNITY LEADER: *Miguel Angel (left) visits Chirihuasi community President Juan José Simbaua (center), who is trying to help his people buy land from the local military base in the Andes highlands. The porkpie hat he is wearing is common among Indian men and women.*

IN front of the community center, village women have gathered to learn how to knit sweaters. Traditionally, men are the weavers and knitters in the highlands, and women embroider only for their families. "Our husbands can't get work," one of the women says, "so in this association, we organize to help them by starting to make sweaters to sell."

Another community leader explains that all the roads here were built by the community, not by the government. "We put up the electricity poles too," he says, "but if they fall, sometimes we don't have electricity for a week."

A few miles away, in the tiny village of Punguhuacu, inside a mud house with a dirt floor, another group of 20 women has started a bread-baking cooperative to raise money to buy land from a nearby hacienda.

With a gas-fired oven provided by a Dutch foundation, the women bake loaves of wheat bread to sell in Otavalo and other cities. Angel's wife, Maria Lola Criollo, is president of the cooperative. The mud house belongs to Angel's parents.

On the way to visit Mario Acosta Luna, the commander of the police in Imbabura province, Angel says that respect for Indians is growing. "Marches and protests in Ecuador are having an effect," he says.

Just a few years ago, entrance into the commander's office was impossible. Now Angel sits with Mr. Luna, sipping coffee, both men being much too polite in front of a reporter and photographer, discussing the importance of dialogue between Indians and the police.

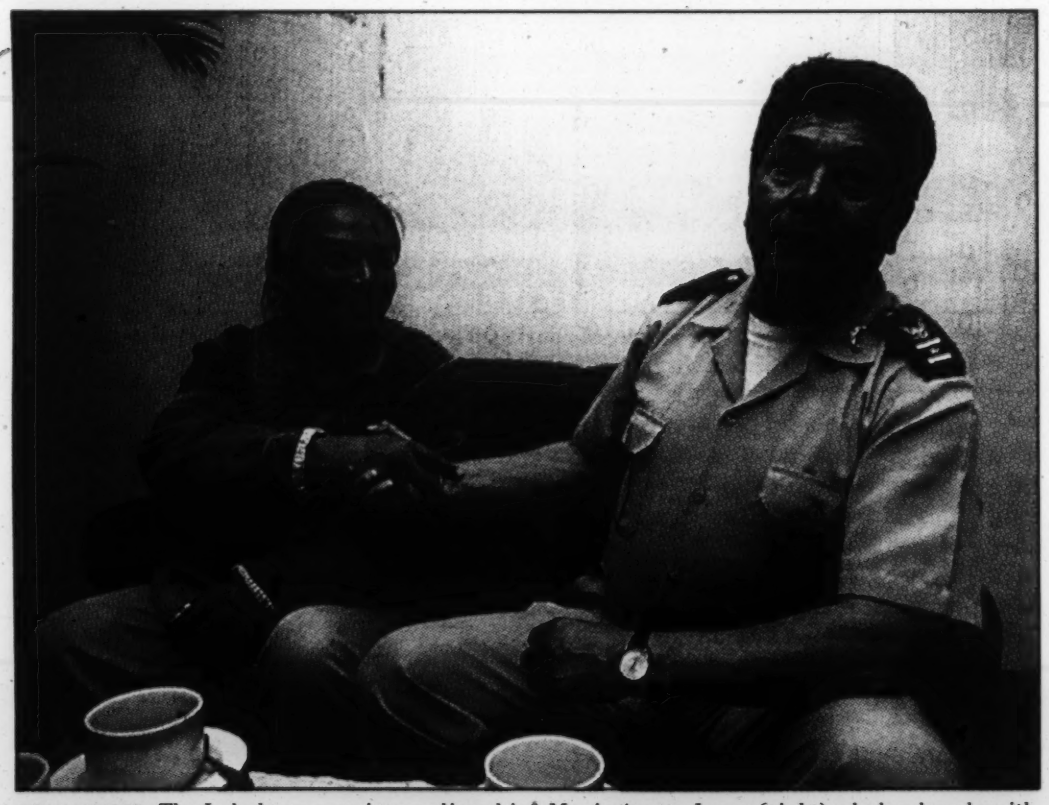
"There must be a sharing of ideas so that everyone advances," the commander says. "I've always talked with all sides. The police are not repressive in Ecuador. We are a preventive element, but when things get out of hand, we use other methods, but only to prevent worse problems."

After the afternoon meeting, Angel concedes that Luna "has done some things for Indians. But the police, in conjunction with the military, are a repressive instrument," he adds.

As the sun goes down, Angel rejects the suggestion that the odds against him look overwhelming.

"Yes, I get tired," he says, "but this is my responsibility." Asked where he will spend the night, he replies with a smile, "I'm not telling you."

CAPTIVATING: *A small Quichua boy in day care in Chirihuasi faces a future of little education and not much land to farm.*



COMMANDER: *The Imbabura province police chief, Mario Acosta Luna (right), shakes hands with Angel (left) after a discussion about improving relations between Indians and the police.*

'The power of the Indian movement is the power of community. What happens in capitalism or the mestizo world is that when you are 15, suddenly you are independent. Family is lost. Community is lost. Individualism doesn't work here; community does.'

– Miguel Angel

PERSPECTIVE TO GO.

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As the nation goes through an unsettling period of flux, people look to the past for understanding

Swedish History Exhibits Attract Throngs

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

STOCKHOLM

INGE KINTBERG is a dancer by training, but on weekends for the past few months, she has donned 16th-century dress to help guide her countrymen through the flagship exhibit of Sweden's largest-ever historical project.

In Ms. Kintberg's eyes, she's doing her small part to help a disoriented people find their way – not just through a museum exhibit but also, in a larger sense, through the particularly difficult period Sweden is crossing in the 1990s.

"When you're feeling lost and you don't know where to go, it helps to look backward to see how you got where you are," she says, giving her explanation for the extraordinary success of "Quest for a Swedish History," a huge two-museum exhibit that opened here in March. "Maybe this kind of reflection can help Sweden decide where it wants to go in the future."

It's fair to say that the last few years have thrown Sweden for a loop. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet military threat have rendered the country's nearly 200-year-old neutrality almost meaningless. At the same time, economic troubles at home and international economic developments – as well as deepening public dissatisfaction – have placed a question mark over a social-welfare system that has come to define this Scandinavian country.

"People coming here talk about the end of the road for the Swedish model," says Kintberg, smoothing the pleats in her Renaissance gown. "I think knowing we're heading for something new has encouraged this interest in history."

That interest was evident on a recent Sunday afternoon, when hundreds of Swedes – from seniors to young families with baby carriages to inquisitive teenagers – made their way through Stockholm's Nordic Museum. Here, 500 years of history are depicted, including peasant-life hardship, bloody hegemonic battles, royal splendor, industrial development, and the shame of the nation's "neutrality" during the Nazi era.

From casual conversations with some of the visitors, it was clear that a certain unease about the future is part of the motivation for Sweden's blooming interest in the past.

"I think people with a lot of questions about how things are changing around them take an interest in their roots," says Catarina Johansson, a nurse from Mariestad in southern Sweden.

"We came 300 kilometers [178 miles] to see this," she adds, referring to her husband and another couple. "That's an indication of something new going on in Sweden."

Should Swedes "lose some of our independence" and join the European Community? Why has terrible violence broken out in the former Yugoslavia, a fellow European state? How should Sweden respond to the challenges to its post-war prosperity? "These are the questions everyone is asking," Mrs. Johansson says.

"I'm a fan of [historian] Barbara Tuchman," Gerard Rikken, a Stockholm postal worker, says, "and one thing I learned from her writing is that to be able to go forward, you have to know who you are and how things became the way they are."

In effect, "Quest for a Swedish History" is a national history class set to run through the year. The centerpieces of the project are the Stockholm museum exhibits, which start at the Museum of National Antiquities, covering the period from about AD 400 to 1520, and continue at the Nordic Museum up through the present. The two museums are only walking distance apart in the city's center, helping to give continuity to the exhibits.

The project also involves about 30 other museums around Sweden, presenting local or specific exhibits, plus occasional seminars, discussion groups, and television programming.

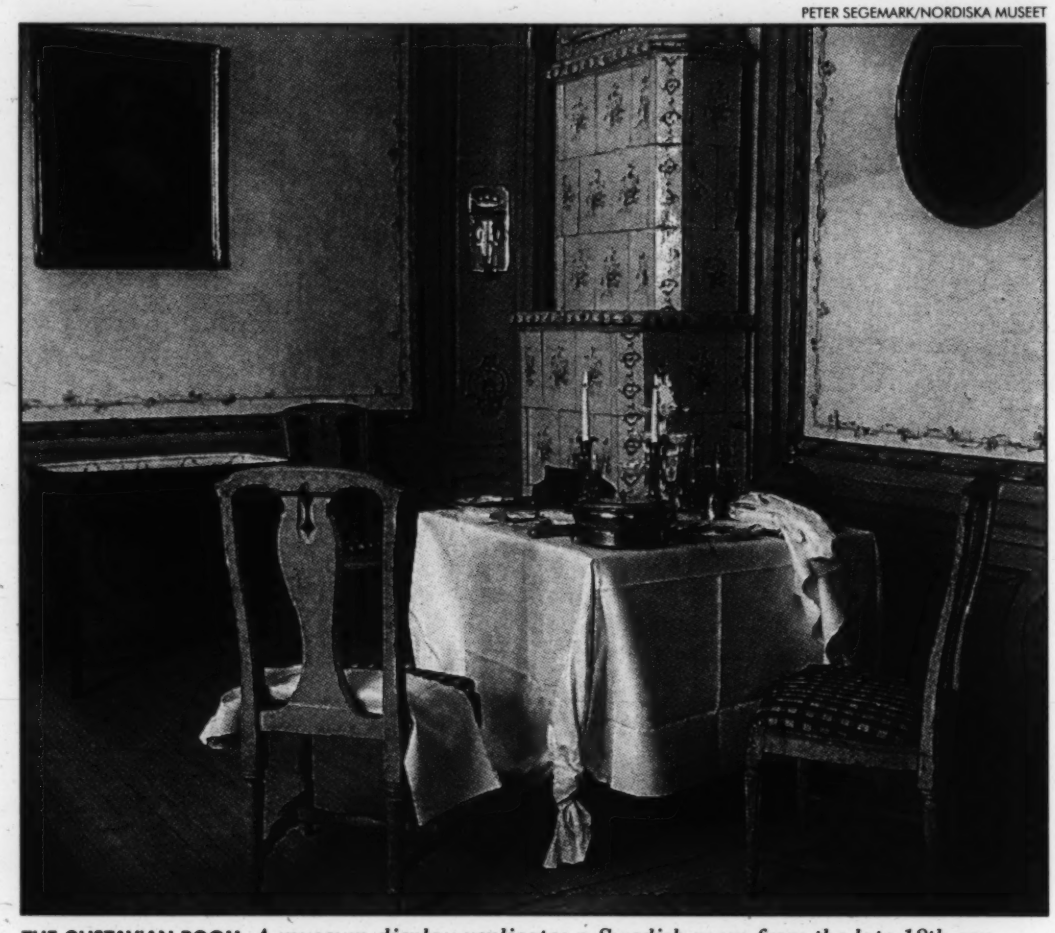
In a country known for a groundbreaking interest in promoting life-long education, the idea of helping a groping population find its way may seem to go with the territory.

Yet as Swedish as such a national teach-in may sound, it appears to have been serendipity that the history project opened just as the country confronted the full impact of what is referred to by Swedes simply as "the crisis."

"[The project] really began taking shape in the late '80s, when some people in the government thought Sweden needed a proper historical museum," says Hakan Strömberg, a historian and one of the exhibit's organizers.

"These two museums [in Stockholm] suddenly pictured their importance and budgets going down, so they decided to show the country they could do a big national exhibit. It's their luck," Mr. Strömberg adds, "that it opened at such a good time."

PETER SEGEMARK/NORDISKA MUSEET



THE GUSTAVIAN ROOM: *A museum display replicates a Swedish room from the late 18th century, during the reign of King Gustav III, when furnishings were influenced by French fashion.*

Yet it was also clear that many of the Swedes touring the exhibit have an interest in history that transcends a preoccupation with Sweden and its internal "crisis."

Many visitors seemed surprised at the reminder of what an imperialistic power Sweden had once been, controlling much of Scandinavia. Before 1814 the country seemed to be almost constantly at war.

On the tip of many visitors' tongues was concern about war in Europe and one question: how to preserve peace on a continent that through history may have seen more war and bloodshed than any other.

"When I saw all the wars Sweden fought, it made me feel depressed, and I know that [feeling] is related to what is happening today in Yugoslavia," Johansson says. "I'm not sure we can claim to have made much progress."

Christofer Lundblad, an electrician visiting the exhibit with his wife and three children, says "seeing all the horrible wars" had the deepest effect on him.

"You know you don't want it to be like that again," he says, "and you think we have probably done too little for places like Russia, to make sure the things that cause war don't happen there."

What also came through, however, is that many Swedes, critical of what neutrality meant in the past, no longer see it as a viable option.

"We weren't really neutral in World War II," says Anna Karin Christensen, a college student at the exhibit with two friends.

"It was terrible to see how we let the Germans pass through, and even supplied them, so they could go on to kill Norwegians," she says.

The "Quest for a Swedish History" exhibit has its critics: primarily those who say its message is too nationalist and that a focus on the Swedish royalty glorifies the upper classes in a way that is contrary to modern Sweden's egalitarian society.

"What comes through very strongly is a desire to orient people toward a feeling of progress, but it's a progress based on the nation, the king, a certain elite," says Göram Rydén, an economic historian at the University of Upsala.

'I think people with a lot of questions about how things are changing around them take an interest in their roots.'

– Catarina Johansson

But even some viewers who agreed with that criticism say the focus on "nation" ultimately left them looking elsewhere for a future solution.

"It is a nationalist exhibit, but the [irony] is that it ends up having quite a different effect," says Dag Boman, an economic development adviser with the Stockholm County Council.

"When you see all the wars, the impact is to turn you toward a closer cooperation in Europe based on people or regions, but not so strongly on the nation. After looking at that past," he adds, "you know you want something else for the future."

NORDISKA MUSEET

ROYAL ASSASSINATION: *At a masked ball in 1792, King Gustav III was murdered by a nobleman in disguise.*

PROFILE

A Day in a Delegate's Life

Canadian politicos woo uncommitted Charles Murray as vote nears

By Mark Clayton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

OTTAWA

ON the hot asphalt parking lot outside the Ottawa Civic Center, hundreds of Conservative delegates festooned with buttons and pins strut their choice for party leader.

Charles Murray does not. A 28-year-old lawyer and delegate from Long Reach, New Brunswick, Mr. Murray is waiting in line for a burger and fries along with the overt partisans.

The only message on his open-collared shirt is a badge with a blue stripe identifying him as a delegate. Several delegates squint at Murray's cap and shirt. Finding no sign of allegiance, they conclude he is that rare species, an uncommitted delegate.

"I'm typical of a small group of delegates whose cynicism is very high," Murray says between bites of hamburger. "Everybody promises. But I want to look into a candidate's eyes and know that he or she realizes that if I give him my vote, their responsibility goes beyond this convention."

Twenty-four hours away – on June 13 – the most important Progressive Conservative Party vote in a decade is to be held, a vote to choose a replacement for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, someone to take the reins of government and lead the underdog party into a tough fall campaign.

Out of the sun under several large tents, clusters of committed delegates – sporting the pink "Kim!" badges of Canadian Defense Minister Kim Campbell or the purple "Charest" pins of Environment Minister Jean Charest – sit eating and speculating.

Will support for Ms. Campbell, the front-runner, implode if there is a second ballot? Are poll results for real that say Mr. Charest is gaining? Which way will the three trailing candidates throw their support?

Only about 15 percent of the 3,472 party delegates arrived in Ottawa uncommitted. Most by now have already been swayed. With the race tight, Charest's and Campbell's teams are on the prowl.

"At first, there were a lot of people calling me," Murray tells a reporter. "But not so much anymore because they know they can't arm-twist me." Instead, he says, the more subtle "casual banter" approach is favored.

A tall man with a familiar face approaches Murray, winding his way through the tables. Barron Clarke is the Conservative Party chairman from New Brunswick.

"Well, what do you think?" Murray says in greeting, hand outstretched. He's referring to the race.

Mr. Clarke, a Campbell delegate, smiles and and grasps Murray's hand: "You know what I think."

"First or second ballot" win for Campbell? Murray asks.

MURRAY: *The New Brunswick delegate was a lobbying target at the Conservative Party convention recently.*

"Well, that depends on you," Clarke says, still smiling. "See you later."

As pressure tactics go, this encounter is pretty mild, Murray says. But as the day wears on, a dozen or more similar ones occur.

Perrin Beatty, Minister of Communications in the Mulroney government, tells Murray that "persuasion," not arm-twisting, is the operative word. The two stand apart from a stream of delegates.

"He's the one person I would have worked my heart out for if he had run for the leadership," Murray says later. "The Campbell team knew that."

But even Beatty's entreaties do not convince Murray. Things about both Charest and Campbell leave him unimpressed, he says. Charest came out strongly in favor of protecting minority English-language rights in Quebec – a plus – while Campbell waffled.

On the other hand, Charest shows himself a smooth politician with a polished speaking style, yet twice refuses to say if he would serve in a Campbell cabinet.

"That's a mistake," Murray says, recalling the Charest remark. "These delegates value party loyalty above all."

After the candidates' speeches that evening, delegates are streaming out of the Civic Center headed for parties being thrown around the city by the five candidates. Murray's mind still isn't made up. As he walks toward an exit, Murray says he likes Jim Edwards, the Albertan known as "Mr. Integrity." His straightforward approach to the budget deficit and other contentious issues is appealing. Murray is struck by the commitment of Edwards's delegates, though their man seems sure to lose. Finally, Murray admits he may vote for Edwards on the first ballot.

But the cost of doing so will be high, he says. So he has to meet and talk with Edwards to see what his gut says.

"If I go with him on the first ballot, a lot of people are going to be pretty disappointed," Murray says. "When future decisions come up, some are going to say, 'You know, Charles wasn't on board.' "

Soon an Edwards aide spots Murray, leading him toward the knot of delegates and reporters surrounding a broad-shouldered, bespectacled man with a voice hoarse from giving speeches. Edwards is introduced to Murray and the two talk for about 30 seconds, a long time as both are pulled by the crowd.

On the convention floor the next afternoon, only minutes before voting begins, Murray ponders the price of independence.

"I'm not going to be telling anyone who I voted for," he says. "But you can be sure that whoever wins, there will be rejoicing in that camp – and they will know, as I know, that I'm not one of them."

Four hours later, on the second ballot, Kim Campbell wins 52.7 percent of the delegate vote to become the party's new leader and the next prime minister of Canada. Murray joins the applause with gusto.

The time to close ranks has arrived.

Mom and Dad Get a Computer

THE machines sat on the table for 30 minutes before she noticed. We talked about our trip, happenings at church. Then she walked into the living room and saw the screen and the printer. She put her hand to her forehead to hide a tear or two.

My mother had just been given her first computer.

High technology moves so fast that we think of newness and future generations. We forget, sometimes, that technology can flow to older generations, too.

For years, my mother talked of getting a computer. My father belittled the idea. And I, too, wondered what she would do with it. Her proposed uses never seemed very convincing. When she talked about computerizing recipes, all I could think of was flour getting stuck between the keys.

A software program changed my mind. My mother could really use Concord, a religious study aid put out by the church that publishes this newspaper. When the church cut the price nearly in half, I knew it was only a matter of time.

What kind of computer does one get for one's parents? My mother is always on the move. My father, an artist type, would want a nice color screen. Surprisingly, this meant getting these first-time users a notebook computer, and the most expensive kind – one with a color, active-matrix display. I gulped hard and settled on a Toshiba T4500C. It's not every day one buys one's parents their first computer.

The Toshiba is fairly advanced: an Intel 486SX chip, four megabytes of random-access memory, and a 120-megabyte hard drive powered by a new generation nickel-metal-hydride battery. (Sorry, Apple PowerBook fans. My mother had always talked of owning an IBM-compatible machine.) When the Toshiba came – along with a simple Panasonic dot-matrix printer – I thought the hard decisions were over. Wrong! Software questions would prove far harder.

COMPUTERS FOR THE REST OF US

We arrived on Sunday afternoon and were scheduled to leave early Tuesday. With less than 48 hours, I suddenly had to decide what crucial skills I should teach my parents. Stick with DOS or introduce Windows? Emphasize the integrated trackball or concentrate on keystrokes?

I knew Concord would be important. Even though it's a DOS-based program, it seemed best to have my parents access it through Windows. That meant getting used to the trackball, clicking on various windows, and using the pull-down menus.

Concord was an immediate hit. By day two, my mother could take the Toshiba into her study to look up passages. She'd come out smiling after figuring something out or looking quizzical when she had a question.

The process was different with my father. He had used computers before as a travel agent, so he knew the importance of the Enter and Escape keys. He was also much more adventurous than my mother in trying new things. But he was also less disciplined. He would ask questions a second time.

And what questions!

I was prepared for basic queries, but not this basic. How do you turn on the machine? How do you turn off the machine? The biggest obstacle seemed to be learning to exit application program and Windows itself.

After we left, I got more calls. My father needed help exiting a program (and by the way, how do you turn off the computer again?). My mother wanted to make sure it was OK to unplug the computer and printer from the wall even if they were still hooked together via the print cable.

My hunch is that if this were another appliance, even an unfamiliar one, they would not ask these basic questions. But the computer is something still foreign and unnatural. By the same token, I was surprised how quickly they caught on to the machine's possibilities. Could they write letters on it? Keep their checking accounts on it? What about a database of mailing labels? The first time we printed a document, I knew they were hooked.

"We still can't believe that we have a computer," my mother said in her last phone call. "It's like entering a whole new world."

– Laurent Belsie

■ *Send your comments on this column to CompuServe (70541,3654) or Prodigy (BXGN44A).*

The Home Forum.

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

'COLUMBUS CIRCLE – THE MAINE MONUMENT' (1990): *Oil on canvas, 24 by 26 in., by Richard Estes.*

The Early-Morning Crew on the City Bus

MY wife and I used to feel that it was virtually impossible to be a true friend to someone without first establishing and using names. Learning a person's name was essential to show you cared, to strengthen a friend's self-worth, to bind you – even lightly – together.

How wrong we were!

Several years of bus trips through the city with the same group of "nameless" people have changed our thinking radically.

We gather in the early hours on Sunday mornings in rain, snow, and sunshine, through bleak midwinters and steamy midsummers. In these circumstances, teamwork is far more important than checking names.

Someone has to make sure that our regular driver is on duty at the bus station: to check that he is awake and has punched up the right destination on the front of the bus, and to bring him something hot to drink, especially in the winter if he seems to need persuasion to skate with our heavy vehicle across icy roads. He's the captain, and it's in our interest to make sure that he's a happy leader.

His walrus moustache, snowy at the edges, stands out in rich contrast to his well-worn face. He smiles benignly at each passenger, expecting him or her to put the right change in the box, and to obey the written and unwritten rules that govern each trip.

There's definitely no smoking on his bus, no littering, no rudeness. And there are as few strident bells as possible, especially as he makes it his business to learn the stop used by every regular passenger.

As an early-morning "team," we tend to care for one another more than do most passengers. We all participate in a mental roll call before we take off.

Where's the sullen woman who sits up front near the driver and never responds to our cheery greetings as we get on the bus? Ah! Here she comes, clutching an extra cup of coffee for the driver. Her worn clothing suggests she doesn't have much money to spare – but her gesture to the captain doesn't go unnoticed by the rest of us.

Where's the factory security guard who comes off a long night shift and somehow makes us feel protected even though he slumps in his seat with his eyes closed until the precise moment that the driver approaches his corner?

Reluctantly the guard's eyes open, and he heaves himself to the front door of the bus. There's trust for you, although we all know that our driver would never let his bulkiest customer sleep through his stop.

Then there's the rotund little fellow who comes into town simply to buy his Sunday newspaper, join us for a bagel in the coffee shop, and return to his stop with his paper clutched under his arm.

As an early-morning 'team,' we tend to care for one another. We all participate in a mental roll call before we take off.

One morning he collapsed on the sidewalk as he moved forward to board the bus. The entire team leapt to his aid. Overcoats were soiled, and the bus was very late that morning. His head was cradled in anonymous, caring arms until an ambulance arrived. A prayerful silence filled the bus as we pulled away.

Then someone spotted a forlorn newspaper in the gutter, and the driver delayed the trip a little longer while the paper was slipped into the ambulance beside its silent but grateful passenger.

Next Sunday morning the man was back on the bus with a fresh newspaper and the same unmistakably grateful smile.

We always get smiles from a Mexican couple as they spring toward the bus hand in hand. When they alight, they're still holding hands. The woman was pregnant late last year, and the other day her big smile and a change of shape confirmed that she'd safely delivered a child we look forward to meeting. We even felt a little pride at the thought of our extended family.

Our Haitian friends are used to living life a little dangerously – at home and abroad. They make a tricky connection with our bus 15 blocks from Kenmore Square, invariably arriving at the changeover point later than we do.

The Haitians have such a sense of fun and so much enthusiasm – even early on Sunday morning – that we're reluctant to leave the meeting point before the hourly cross-town bus has arrived. When they're all abroad, we communicate in chuckles and nods; after all, who needs words – or names – when you're already saying it all.

For many months, our only sadness lay in our inability to establish the same rapport with the woman at the front of the bus, who, after all, was English-speaking.

ONE evening we went to a fish restaurant that happens to be along the route taken by our Sunday morning bus. The tables are close together, and there's an atmosphere that brings the patrons close together as well.

We were shown to a table alongside someone who was sitting alone, huddled within an overcoat that we recognized before we saw the owner's face. It was the woman from the front seat of the bus.

We greeted her with the friendly familiarity we'd shown all year, but this time – like ice floes unlocking on the Charles River in April – her face softened into a gleam of recognition, and then a shy smile.

When she spoke 10 minutes

The Many Faces of Mass Transit

MY mother gave up driving on the day she was taking a lesson from my father, who had fallen asleep in the passenger seat of their '40s-model car. She misjudged a turn and hit a garbage can at the corner of a neighborhood street. Rolling downhill, the can knocked over a gas-station attendant.

My mother turned to my father, who had been startled awake, and said, "This is the last time I drive." And it was.

I learned the geography of my childhood city from the windows of a big mustard-yellow bus called "The Broadway." I repeated bus schedules and routes the way some children recited their address and phone number. I was always finding worn schedules stuffed in the pockets of jeans and jackets.

I loved the bump and roll of the big bus. For years I never felt rushed in getting from one place to another. All the stops along the route gave me a chance to know the city in a way that I never could have had I been riding in a car.

My world widened beyond the secure home streets of Klickitat and Sikiyou into areas boundaried by street names hollered out in distinct syllables as the driver approached them: "Al-ber-ta, Al-der, Fre-mont." Sometimes the driver might even add a syllable, "Broad-i-way." On the return ride, the familiar "Klick-i-tat" was as comforting as the house that waited right around the corner.

At various times in my childhood, I used mass transit to travel to swimming and music lessons, to friends' homes, and to have my braces tightened.

I learned about patience from bus drivers who waited as older women and men navigated the steep stairs and fumbled through bags and pockets for correct change.

I sat next to readers, to people who worked crossword puzzles, and sometimes next to people my friends used to call "chatters," those passengers who visited with you from the moment they graced the worn leather seats until the time they rose to pull the bell cord for their stop.

Every person who sat across from or next to me had a story. I soaked up their conversations and let my young imagination picture their homes, their families, and the small triumphs and dramas they spoke of to the driver.

Though these storytellers were anonymous, most likely never to be seen again, I still remember the suits and dresses they wore. I was surprised by the universality of their stories. How was it that a woman I didn't know could talk about the same feelings my mother shared with me the week before?

My children and I still navigate new cities by bus or subway. We let the bus driver worry about how to get where we're going. All we have to do is study a schedule, figure out our destination, and let the bus take us there.

My daughter Hallie's favorite ride was the Boston subway system. Passing Fenway Park, she stood balancing like a sailor as the crowded car rounded a curve. The hands of the people sitting around us reached instinctively to steady her.

Though I have felt and even welcomed anonymity on a bus, I've also experienced public transportation as a place where strangers occasionally reach out to help create balance in a rocky world.

On the West Coast, the East Coast can appear to be a frightening place, framed as it is by news reports that focus on crime and violence. Until we took the subway, my children saw the East as one big, scary city. Now they list Boston as one of their favorite places.

And I have learned that there is a need to be cautious, but that living in fear is one of the deepest tragedies of all.

THAT day in Boston – among the jostling crowd, the sullen and not-so-sullen faces – didn't feel so different from the many days of my childhood. Passing through the turnstile and giving a big grin to the occasional ticket-seller made me feel more secure than I'd felt yet in a new place.

So it is that we keep taking the bus. From the ticket sellers in Massachusetts to the bus driver in Ottawa who gave us detailed directions to the Natural History Museum, to the Portland drivers who carry bicycle racks on their buses, I've learned a great deal about kindness to strangers, and so have my children.

Next year we'll be living without a car for six months in a place with buses that traverse city streets as well as rocky mountain roads. Everything will be unfamiliar to us – the language, the place, the people.

Whenever I feel hesitant, I think of the bus and know that during homesick times, there will be a sure source of comfort.

Melissa Madenski

later, the words escaped awkwardly from lips stiffened by a speech impediment, but loosening a little as we showed interest in her. All at once we realized she hadn't spoken to us on the bus because talking was hard for her, and her exchanges with the driver had been little more than nods and grunts.

Over the plates of New Zealand orange roughy and Boston scrod, we learned the story of a single mother with a disabled child. On Sundays she rode the bus all morning – same seat, same route, in and out – simply for the companionship of the driver whose name she didn't know, but who appreciated the hot drinks she unfailingly provided.

The bus ride was the best thing she did all week. Her occasional visits to the fish restaurant were a close second.

The time she spent visiting the home in which her son was receiving special care was always challenging, she explained. She missed him desperately. She wished she could do more for him. "But it's probably all for the best," she murmured haltingly, mainly to herself.

"I love him ... and he loves me, even though he doesn't express it very well. But lots of us have that problem, don't we? We don't say what we want to say ... what we should be saying. And that's not good enough. Look at me, I'm a prime example."

Her soliloquy, slow but ever more eloquent, drifted on for several minutes until halted by the arrival of our food.

Now she perked up. After all, she'd saved up for weeks for this treat, "And this time I'm sharing it with f-f-f-friends."

The candles flared on our tables, which were close enough to be one. Our orange roughy had never tasted better.

The winter's night lengthened and grew cozy, and when we parted, with the bond firmly established – we shared names.

Kim Shippey

Children of His Care

LOCAL and national news reports often present the world as a dangerous place in which to raise a child. Is there a way parents can be less anxious, and at the same time more watchful and vigilant for a child's safety?

There is! There's another kind of watchfulness—prayer—that expands our capacity to protect our children by allowing us to participate actively in caring for their well-being even when it's impossible for us to be personally present with them. Parents who have turned to God's spiritual means of protection for their children have found His help powerful and practical.

Prayer based on an understanding of the Biblical truth that God has made man in His image and likeness opens our thoughts and hearts to recognizing that our children are in reality God's offspring—as we are—and are therefore spiritual. This doesn't mean mothers and fathers shouldn't still be watchful and vigilant for their children's safety, but it does reassure the loving parent that each child is always within the ever-present protection of his or her true divine guardian, God. God's tender love provides for and guides children and adults alike and this becomes apparent when prayer opens the door of thought to His illuminating presence.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

One parent with an exemplary record of vigilance was Noah. In the Bible Noah is recorded as having saved his whole family from a devastating flood by his foresight and diligence—and his willingness to listen to God's direction. Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, gives this spiritual description of one of Noah's sons in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures:* "JAPHET (Noah's son). A type of spiritual peace, flowing from the understanding that God is the divine Principle of all existence, and that man is His idea, the child of His care." To the degree that we understand that our sons and daughters are the children of God's care, to that extent we will find ourselves empowered like Noah to take the right spiritual and practical action to protect our offspring. A friend of mine experienced this.

She regularly prayed for her children as they were growing up. At a time when her young son, not yet a teenager, was traveling to another country on a school-arranged trip to attend a camp, my friend awoke from sleep feeling compelled to pray specifically for him. Camp personnel were to have met his plane and put him safely on a train to camp. Later she found out that his plane had been delayed, and that he had missed the train—and the person who was to meet him—and been left stranded in this new land late at night, speaking very little of the language. At the time, my friend knew nothing of this. She only knew that she felt compelled by God to pray for this child. She prayed until she felt convinced of his well-being under God's watchful care.

The child, too, prayed. And his safety and comfort were taken care of in a most marvelous way. A kind local taxi driver took the youngster under his wing. After telephoning the camp that was expecting the boy, the driver took the boy home with him to stay safely with his own family for the night. In the morning he made sure the boy got on the right train.

Such intuitions as my friend was obedient to come naturally to our thought when it is prayerfully anchored in Christ, the understanding of man's true spiritual sonship that motivated Christ Jesus. Through Christ one is enabled to be always on vigilant watch for one's offspring, not anxiously, but confidently. God alerts us to what we need to know in order to be properly playing our part in meeting our children's needs. In this way both parent and child come to see and feel the security of God's unwavering care for His children.

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Don't Ignore Ukraine

UKRAINE became the world's third-largest nuclear power overnight when the Soviet Union broke up. It has the second-largest army in Europe. For two years, since the Soviet breakup, Ukraine has been relatively stable. But recent events indicate its economic and political compass is beginning to sway in uncertain directions. Nationalists in the parliament are challenging centrists on the threat posed by Russia, on the dispensation of 176 nuclear missiles (1,600 warheads) formerly under Soviet control, and on the question of whether Ukraine should sign the START I treaty, which it earlier agreed to do.

In recent months, Ukraine has faced hyperinflation, which has put the economy in a nose dive and has caused a major strike by miners in the Don Bass coal region. With world oil prices beyond reach and Russian delivery of oil a fickle matter, the coal miners hold the key to Ukrainian energy. They have forced Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and President Leonid Kravchuk to agree to a referendum on the government this September. Messrs. Kuchma and Kravchuk are already in a struggle over the direction Ukraine should take, with Kuchma threatening and trying to resign numerous times in the past month, and Kravchuk recently declaring emergency powers and control of the central government, then withdrawing the claim June 22.

For these reasons, now is the time for the United States to develop a more energetic policy toward Ukraine. The time prior to September's referendum could be crucial. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin's trip to Ukraine earlier this month was a step toward such a policy. By attempting to create a separate international committee to oversee the dismantling of most of Ukraine's nuclear weapons, rather than hand them over to Russia, Mr. Aspin told Kiev it would be treated even-handedly. This is a good sign. But the White House must continue to find ways to treat Ukraine as a sovereign state, not a second fiddle to Moscow.

A policy that brings more economic aid, technical assistance, and innovative ways to promote reform and democratic impulses inside Ukraine is needed. The White House has done this for Boris Yeltsin. But so far it has done very little either for Ukraine, or for neighboring Belarus, which has begun to disarm. Washington must take an active role if it is to help Kiev, in concert with European states. The "multilateralism" President Clinton has said is a hallmark of his foreign policy must not be used as an excuse to shovel off problems on others. Only by an engaged and earnest policy can the US wield the kind of leverage it will need if matters in the Ukraine turn for the worse.

Where to Stop Chopping

WITHOUT doubt, saying "whoa," or at least "go slower," to harvesters of prime old-growth timber in the public forest lands of the United States is excruciatingly difficult.

But America can't preserve its majestic National Forests, especially those in the Pacific Northwest, without drastically diminishing an industry that has supported thousands of families in the region for more than two centuries and produced jobs in related industries elsewhere in the country.

The Clinton administration is expected to make public, within a few weeks, a number of proposed steps, including reducing the annual amount of prime timber that could be cut by about half of the more than 3.5 billion board feet a year from 1985 through 1989.

Forest industry sources indicate that the 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion board feet of lumber that could be produced annually would not be sufficient to sustain the industry. But they haven't given up yet, and they have powerful advocates in Washington.

Speaker of the House of Representatives Thomas Foley (D) of Washington is one; so is US Rep. Peter DeFazio (D) of Oregon. President Clinton needs their support for his other programs. Yet even carefully paced timber-harvesting monitored by the US Forest Service would eventually exhaust the resource and force people to find other means of livelihood, which could entail leaving the area.

It doesn't make sense to remain so dependent upon a resource and a related industry – timber harvesting and milling – that other valid and income-producing activities, like recreation and tourism, are made less attractive, too. It's wrenching to give up a way of life. But exploiting the resource until it is exhausted certainly is not a valid policy. There is no good reason to permit such an outcome.

Fortunately, establishment of the National Parks system has protected many natural areas across the nation; but most of the National Forests are considered exploitable resources.

Ultimately, this issue will provide an acid test of environmental and economic policy for the president, Congress, citizens of the Northwest, and the rest of us.

Behind Guatemala's 'Miracle'

By Peter Hakim

RECENT events in Guatemala, where domestic opposition and international pressure thwarted elected President Jorge Serrano Elías's military-backed grab for dictatorial power, suggest that democracy may be more secure in Latin America than anyone had reason to believe.

Yet references to Guatemala's narrow escape from authoritarian rule as the "miracle of Guatemala" imply that these events resulted from unique circumstances, raising doubts about their broader significance.

Calling those events a miracle hardly seems to be an exaggeration. Consider the following:

■ The Guatemalan military, long the ultimate arbitrator of politics in the country, was unable to control the course of events.

■ Despite Guatemala's bitter ethnic and class divisions, which have fueled a 30-year civil war that has killed more than 100,000 people, groups across the political and economic spectrum joined to oppose Mr. Serrano's bid, including the business elite, which traditionally allies itself with the Army.

■ Guatemala's record as one of the worst violators of human rights in Latin America notwithstanding, its Congress chose the nation's most visible and respected champion of human rights, Ramiro de Leon Carpio, to replace Serrano as president.

All of this would not have occurred without intense external pressure. The United States impressively demonstrated what its soon-to-be announced policy of "assertive multilateralism" might look like: It quickly denounced Serrano's ambitions; demanded that constitutional order be restored; initiated economic sanctions; and joined other governments at the Organization of American States to devise a strategy to deal with the crisis.

Within days of the coup, the OAS secretary-general and several Latin American and Caribbean foreign ministers traveled to Guatemala City to press for its reversal. Neighboring governments in Mexico and Central America responded forcefully on their own, and European nations cut off aid to Guatemala. This sent a powerful signal to the Army and other potential supporters of the coup that Guatemala would become an international pariah unless democratic order was reinstated. More importantly, they emboldened popular opposition to Serrano and stiffened the resolve of the nation's normally timid Congress and Constitutional Court.

Another key factor was the growing importance to Guatemala of international commerce. The reduction of Guatemala's import barriers in recent years and its increasing integration into the world economy has produced a modern business sector dependent on trade and foreign capital. That sector, recognizing the price it would pay for international isolation and the loss of US trade preferences, pressed the Army to reverse the coup.

International action accomplished far less in Peru, where a similar coup by elected President Alberto Fujimori enjoyed broad popular support, or in Haiti, where business groups backed the military takeover. Coup attempts rarely succeed without significant civilian support. This was what was missing in Guatemala.

Washington's decisiveness was due, in part, to the absence of any significant US interests in Guatemala other than preserving democracy; there were no trade-offs to consider. The Guatemalan Army appeared divided and uncertain. And despite the Army's distaste for Mr. de Leon's human rights advocacy, his selection as president was widely accepted because he was a well-known political figure and part of the Guatemalan establishment, not an outsider like Haitian President Aristide.

No miracle returned the rule of law to Guatemala. It was the conviction and courage of Guatemalans, aided by the thoughtful use of power by the US and other nations. And that can surely be repeated elsewhere.

■ *Peter Hakim is acting president of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington.*

Mulroney's Candor Remains in Question

LETTERS

In the editorial "A View of Mulroney," June 10, the author writes, "Americans responded to Mulroney's candor." Candor can mean mere frankness, but it customarily denotes sincerity too. Canadians (including myself) learned early that sincerity was a quality sorely lacking in the prime minister, and many credit him with instigating the decline of the Canadian middle class.

At Mr. Mulroney's leave-taking, Canada is bitterly disappointed with and mistrustful of government. The General Services Tax has spawned an enormous black market in everything from cigarettes to roof repairs. The health-care system, once a model for the world, is deteriorating because the government has deliberately withdrawn funding.

Candor? Hardly. Rather arrogance and shortsightedness.

Neil R. Hughes ***Athens, Ga.***

Deforesting the Sierra Madre

Thank you for your worthy article "Indigenous People Press for Rights," June 9. In speaking up for the rights of indigenous people, the author touches upon an urgent need.

In the Sierra Madre of western Mexico at this moment 60,000 Tarahumara, 5,000 Guarijio, 2,000 Mt. Pima, 15,000 Northern Tepehuan, and 15,000 Southern Tepehuan people are losing their mountain habitat to unsustainable logging, pulping, mining, and inappropriate development that they neither asked for nor wanted.

It is essential that the unrecognized vital concerns of the indigenous people of the Sierra Madre be addressed and their rights respected.

Anita Williams ***Calexico, Calif.***

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.

OPINION/ESSAYS

Human Rights in Gorazde

By Haris Silajdzic

I THANK those who speak on behalf of the victims of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a bloodstain on your TV screens. Bosnia-Herzegovina is genocide. Bosnia is everything that human rights are not. I want you to keep in mind the name of a town in eastern Bosnia. The town is called Gorazde, and I will mention it again soon and make a proposal to this conference.

Some 20,000 civilian adults dead, over 1.5 million displaced persons and refugees, 25,000 children dead, hundreds of thousands in Bosnia at this moment starving to death.

Thousands of children maimed, ... parentless – to remind the international community forever of the international crime in which that community is an accomplice. Bosnia-Herzegovina is not a natural disaster. It is a genocide by people, a regime in Belgrade that attacks not only Muslims and Croats in Bosnia, but Croats in Croatia, Albanians in Kosovo, Muslims in Sandzak, Hungarians in Vojvodina – all in broad daylight, in front of all of you, in front of those who were handed the banner of might and justice in the international community.

They are not punished. But we are punished because we did believe in justice; we did believe in the international community. And now we are considered guilty simply because we have resisted. We have become such an embarrassment that high officials of the UN do not even speak of Bosnia in their speeches – do not even *mention* Bosnia.

I will not speak long. I want to draw your attention to the town of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia. As we speak, it is being savagely attacked by Serb forces. These are Serb forces from Serbia proper. This is an attack on Bosnia.

For those who do not know, Bosnia has been a country, a state, a kingdom – for 1,000 years. Bosnia knew about human rights hundreds of years ago – when Jews, Hungarians, and others who sought refuge there were given refuge, and who have since lived as first-class citizens.

For how long shall we tolerate this? I am speaking on behalf of those who cannot speak – because they have been denied the right to speak. They have been denied the right to eat. They have been denied the right to live for 15 months with almost no action on the part of the international community. So how can we talk about human rights? Theoretically we should speak about mechanisms to implement the human rights to punish the tyrants wherever they are. This means Gorazde today: 60,000 people awaiting death, as we speak, *now* – an hour from here by airplane. People are dying in the hospitals, in the schools, in the houses, in the streets. Hundreds lie dead in the streets now, as we speak about human rights here. As we go on with the so-called peace process – a process in which not only the regime in Belgrade should be accused, but also the international community (whatever that phrase now means) for allowing genocide to shamelessly continue.

Human rights. Where are the human rights? Where is the political will? And then the question: What can we do?

I propose, and I hope... I will be listened to, that this conference appeals to the Security Council to stop the genocide of the people in Gorazde. Bear this in mind: 20,000 children in Gorazde are in a position to be killed. There is no doubt about it. So I repeat, let us make an appeal today from this conference to the Security Council; let us demand on behalf of the participants, on behalf of humanity – because this is a crime against humanity – to stop. Let us take all necessary measures (UN resolutions entitle the Security Council to take such measures) to stop the genocide in at least one town, Gorazde.

THIS is a test. If nothing is done, there will be no credibility left for anyone – the international community or the UN. Those calling from the United Nations for the downtrodden and for the dispossessed would be right. Is this what we want? Why accept double standards so blatant, so open, so bloody and so deadly?

Let me give you the message of the people of Bosnia: We will fight and defend ourselves because it is our inherent right, one of the oldest human rights. We will defend ourselves despite the fact that the international community has tied our hands while we are being killed, while our women are raped, while our children are maimed.

I appeal to you to demand that the Security Council take all necessary measures in Gorazde in order to restore credibility to this conference, to the UN, and to the international community.

■ *Haris Silajdzic is the Bosnian foreign minister. This is adapted from his June 16 speech to the UN human rights conference in Vienna.*

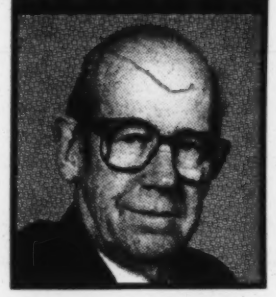
Tighten US Policy On Political Asylum

PRESIDENT Clinton has announced his nomination of Doris M. Meissner, a true expert on immigration issues, to head the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Among her first tasks will be to deal with growing pressure for changes in United States policies on political asylum.

When 300 Chinese washed ashore in Queens, New York, June 6 after their ship ran aground, they brought to the forefront the problems of alien smuggling and asylum. The incident also revealed the greed and misery in this human traffic. Stimulated by this incident and previous illegal landings of Chinese on the West Coast, Congress is considering measures that would tighten the rules and expedite the process under which those claiming political persecution are permitted to remain in the US.

Making this determination was relatively easy in the 1930s and the earlier days of the cold war. Almost anyone who was able to escape from oppressive regimes in Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union clearly deserved such status. Later, the US granted asylum to South Vietnamese who had fought alongside US forces in the Vietnam War. But in more recent times the definition has become less clear. Those who flee the regions of the former Soviet Union today may be doing so as much for economic as political reasons.

DAVID D. NEWSOM



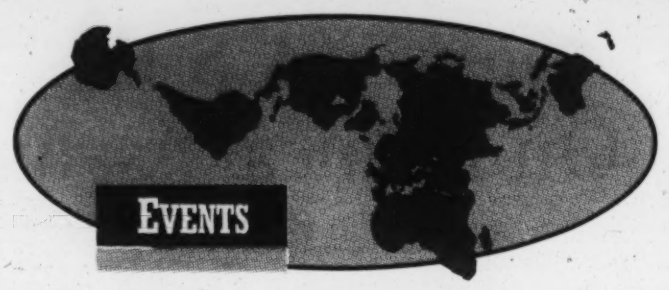
The US is not alone in facing a redefinition of asylum. The question of controlling entry has been a political issue in nearly every Western European country and Canada. Germany, flooded with immigrants from the East, is tightening its asylum laws. France is seeking greater control over the entry of North Africans. In both countries, the increase of newcomers has stimulated right-wing protests.

For the US, special problems arise in placing limits on asylum for peoples in the Caribbean and Central America. Strong emotions, ideology, and efforts of kin living in the US make clear determinations in such cases difficult. It is virtually impossible for authorities to deny asylum to Cubans who can reach Florida. The situation for Haitians is becoming comparable. In Central America, the ideological struggles and oppression that sparked refugee movements have eased in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras, but not yet in Guatemala. The issue is complicated in Central America and Mexico because of demands for immigrant labor. Immigrants will take jobs that many Americans will not. Complaints in the US Southwest about illegal immigrants are muted by the demand for their labor. The question is less one of political asylum than of economic convenience.

Public pressures in the US urge that a broad and sympathetic asylum policy extend to peoples beyond the Americas. Voices are now being raised by Chinese-Americans and others, insisting that the Chinese brought here this month in virtual slavery should be given asylum. Chinese who are genuine political refugees will continue to reach America, but a serious question arises as to whether those who arrived illegally this month are escaping political repression. They appear clearly to be seeking economic advantage; to grant them asylum would risk encouraging further the cruel methods that brought them here.

For many in less-prosperous areas, the hope of betterment through migration will not fade. Although a number of developing countries are showing remarkable signs of progress, the North-South disparity is not likely to disappear. Neither will the world see the disappearance of oppressive regimes that stimulate people to flee. For the richer and freer industrial countries to close their doors would not only be inhumane but would also rob them of the talent, diversity, and enterprise that many immigrants contribute. Tighter and more precise rules, combined with improvements in the processing of requests, are in everyone's interest. Not only is the social stability of the developed nations involved, but so is the welfare of the people tempted to migrate. As long as policies on asylum are vague or loose, those in less-fortunate economic circumstances will be tempted by the lure of a better future and subject to being victimized as were the Chinese cast this month upon American shores.

■ *David D. Newsom, former undersecretary of state, is Cumming Memorial Professor of International Affairs at the University of Virginia.*



JAPANESE CRISIS AND ECONOMIC SUMMIT

In reaction to the political upheaval in Japan, President Clinton said the turmoil would complicate next month's seven-nation economic summit in Tokyo, but that he was confident progress could be made. Clinton emphasized that Tokyo will have to open up its markets to the West regardless of who is elected to head its shaken government. "They can't withdraw from the world or shut us out now," Mr. Clinton said in a radio interview June 21.

Haitian meeting proposed

Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, Haiti's military leader, offered on June 21 to meet with exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in a neutral country. The bid was made in an attempt to stave off a world embargo on Haiti set to begin at midnight June 23.

United Nations Special Envoy Dante Caputo said he needed time to decide whether the letter is a serious proposal or another delaying tactic. Weeks earlier, General Cedras turned down Mr. Caputo's request for a similar meeting.

Muslim extremists charged

An Egyptian military prosecutor on June 22 charged 32 suspected Muslim extremists with terrorist attacks on police and Christian-owned jewelry stores in which five people died. The death penalty was demanded for most of them.

The indictment says the 32 defendants belong to an illegal organization known as Al-Shawkeen that aims at imposing Islamic rule on Egypt.

Military courts have sentenced 22 Egyptians to death in connection with an 18-month extremist campaign to overthrow the country's secular government. One has been executed.

Major denies donations

Prime Minister John Major on June 22 denied a newspaper report alleging that Saudi Arabia had donated millions of dollars to his Conservative Party just before last year's April election.

The Guardian newspaper carried a front-page story June 22 alleging the Conservatives, already under pressure for accepting funds from fugitive businessman Asil Nadir, had taken the money after a meeting between a minister and prominent Saudi Arabians. One Conservative rule is that money should not be taken from foreign governments.

Algerian assassinated

A noted sociologist was killed at his Algiers home the morning of June 22, shortly after being named to an official think tank to replace a colleague killed in a similar attack in March.

There was no claim of responsibility for the killing of Muhammed Boukhobza. But it bore the earmarks of previous attacks blamed on Islamic extremists fighting to topple Algeria's military-backed leaders. They have recently begun targeting intellectuals, many with ties to the regime.

Austrians protest bishop

In a rare protest against Austria's powerful Roman Catholic church, thousands are taking to the streets and demanding the resignation of a bishop accused of being conservative and authoritarian.

Church liberals say appointments, such as that of Bishop Kurt Krenn, are undermining the standing and influence of Catholic teaching. Since being appointed in September 1991, Bishop Krenn's style of leadership and his conservative views – such as banning girls from serving as altar assistants – have led to mounting criticism.

Citizenship ceremony

The chairman of the board of United States English on June 22 called on Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Commissioner Chris Sale to stop a travesty before it happens. At issue is a US citizenship ceremony scheduled to be conducted primarily in Spanish on Friday, July 2, by the INS for 75 immigrants in Tucson, Ariz. According to the INS, this will be the first time it has offered such a ceremony in a foreign language.

US District Judge Alfredo C. Marquez, who is set to conduct the ceremony, has reportedly said that though the prospective new citizens can understand English, it "is more meaningful to them in their native language."

Pat Nixon, former first lady

Pat Nixon, the uncomplaining silent partner in Richard Nixon's quarter century of political triumph and disgrace, died June 22 at the Nixon home in Park Ridge, N.J. She was 81.

– Compiled by Faye Bowers

Worried about their troops, British planners concede they are considering pulling them out

Britain Questions Bosnia Duty

TWO weeks after it happened, defense planners are still seething about an incident involving British troops near the Bosnian town of Kiseljak. Their mood of sustained indignation helps to explain why London's perspective on the fighting in the former Yugoslavia is changing.

The soldiers, patrolling in two armored cars as part of a United Nations "Convoy of Joy" bringing food to besieged Muslim areas, were ambushed on June 10 by Muslim fighters. The Muslims dragged the peacekeepers from their vehicles, threatened them with rocket launchers, made them lie on the ground, and stole their weapons.

UN rules of engagement prevented the British detachment from defending itself. The reaction in London, when news of the incident was relayed to defense officials, was incandescent anger in private and measured indignation in public.

THE WORLD FROM LONDON

David Howell, chairman of the House of Commons foreign affairs committee, captured the mood of his fellow parliamentarians when he spoke of his "horror" at the humiliation of the peacekeepers. British troops, he insisted, "must not be left in an impossible position." Armed Forces Minister Jeremy Hanley conceded that there was "a contingency plan for British withdrawal from Bosnia."

Withdrawal is not being contemplated as an immediate option, but behind the scenes defense planners are beginning to question seriously the wisdom of keeping 4,500 British troops in Bosnia, now that the UN- and EC-sponsored Vance-Owen peace plan has been abandoned, and a three-way carve-up of Bosnia on ethnic lines appears probable.

"At the very least," a government adviser said, "there needs to be a revision of the UN mandate, which currently does not give our troops the right to defend themselves against the kind of indignity they were forced to suffer in the Kiseljak incident."

The crisis is being monitored "every passing minute," Mr. Hanley says. Officially, a detachment of Britain's Coldstream Guards is earmarked for a six-month tour of Bosnia-Herzegovina in October, and Defense Ministry officials say the plan is that they will go.

But alarm at the deterioration of security in the region is reflected in comments from Defense Ministry sources that a force of up to 2,000 British troops is already on standby in case they are needed to cover a withdrawal from Bosnia by the soldiers already there.

It has taken a long time for the current disenchanted mood to build. The national contingent in Bosnia has received hugely favorable publicity in the British media. Some of its members have been acclaimed as virtual folk heroes. Col. Bob Stewart, commander of Britain's Cheshire Regiment, was awarded an honor by the Queen after he returned home in May.

But the failure of Europe and the United States to agree on an effective policy for Bosnia, plus the steady unraveling of the UN peace plan, has been sapping the enthusiasm that initially fueled Britain's contribution to the UN peace effort.

Prime Minister John Major is known to want a UN revision of the peacekeeping mandate, but officials here concede that may take weeks if not months. Rewriting it may not be necessary, some officials say, because a settlement in Bosnia, based on a deal between Serbia and Croatia, will be worked out soon. Meanwhile, influential figures are joining the ranks of those who question the need for British troops to be in Bosnia at all.

Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party and a former serviceman, says the government must "consider the reality of the need to withdraw."

He believes the crisis has become one of "utmost gravity," with Britain facing "a situation which is simply beyond control."

– Alexander MacLeod